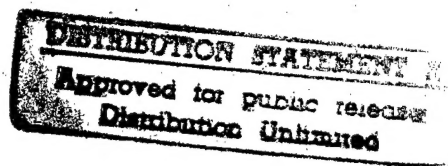


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24 January 1983



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2099

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24 January 1983

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2099

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## BELGIAN VISITORS VIEW GDR PEACE MOVEMENT

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 8 Dec 82 pp 37-40

[Interview with Dirk Barrez and Serge Nachtergaele, staff members of the International of War Opponents, by K.L.D.: "Peace as a State Doctrine -- VAKA Visits East German Peace Movement"]

[Text] At the end of last month, a dozen members of the Flemish Action Committee Against Nuclear Arms [VAKA] paid a visit to the GDR. For those who are not yet acquainted with VAKA, in October of last year it organized the peace demonstration, with 150,000 participants, in the center of Brussels. However, the intent this time was to make closer contact with the East German peace movement. The delegation included, among others, Dirk Barrez and Serge Nachtergaele, staff members of the International of War Opponents, one of the 15 member organizations currently in VAKA. The following interview related to the peace movement behind the iron curtain.

Question: You went to the GDR at the invitation of the East German Christliche Friedenskonferenz [CFK - Christian Peace Conference]. What exactly did you do there?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: In the GDR, we spoke among others with the East German Peace Council; that is the official peace movement. But we also had contacts with the CFK, the Christliche Friedenskonferenz, which is an organization of some 500 Christian individuals, not supported by the church, but whose views are very close to those of the official Peace Council. Afterwards, we paid a visit to a few base communities of the Evangelical Church, who work a great deal with the theme of peace; and, finally, as our last discussion partner we chose people from the independent East German peace movement "From Swords into Plowshares."

Question: What is the relationship between those four movements?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: As far as the independent peace movement is concerned, virtually nothing is left at the present moment. It is true that 5,000 individuals took to the streets recently in Dresden, specifically in the Kreuzkirche, but this was regarded with disfavor from the official side. On the other hand,

you have what the official peace movement does, and that is, to say the least, massive campaigns. All East European countries have those campaigns which are directed from the top. The theme is usually: "To Build Socialism Is To Ensure Peace" or "Peace Must Be Defended With Arms." Still, those campaigns do elicit a response from the population, in contrast to most of the demonstrations led from the top.

Question: Is that a result of the campaign or only a natural urge of the people for peace and security?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: The people often do not take these slogans seriously. We saw that clearly in Berlin. The ordinary man does not pay attention to it, even though the word */peace/* [printed in italics] does have a very positive content.

Question: How is the official East German Peace Council made up?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: The official Peace Council is an organization which includes representatives of the various East German parties: the SED [Socialist Unity Party (East German Communist Party)], that is the unity party, a combination of social democrats and KP [Communist Party], the CDV [Christian Democratic Union], the Christian democrats, the FDP [Free Democratic Party], and finally the Farmers Party. All of those then are in it, plus representatives of all large mass organizations, the unions, the big youth organizations and the socio-cultural organizations. But the official peace movement is primarily a unity movement. The peace policy of the GDR is a state policy, and it is put forth by that body. The various actions are also led centrally from Berlin. Hence, the Peace Council is really the only official body which is allowed to conduct a policy of peace as a state doctrine. The others cannot and may not do this. Socialism is peace, and this peace must be defended with arms. This kind of thinking is reflected, among other things, in the extension of the national people's army, the so-called arming of farmers and workers. A really substitute military service does not exist, for example. The subject of peace education is also very controversial there. From the official side, since 1978 they have introduced the course "Wehrkunde-unterricht," a kind of military education in the 9th and 10th grade. After a while, this elicited a rather substantial amount of reaction from the church. As a matter of fact, the church has an alternative program for real peace education. But I don't see them introducing any changes too quickly.

Question: Do you have any idea of the number of members of the Peace Council?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: That is hard to say precisely, but the people who are in it are all people with high social positions, professors, medical doctors, politicians with high ranking positions within the unity party, etcetera. After all, everything should find itself in a unity movement.

Question: The same idea as the existing National Front, where people of all kinds of upper levels find each other?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: Right, the combination of representatives of the various parties, with of course the main input from the SED.

Question: What are the main demands of the official Peace Council?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: They only talk about Western armament. For them, the West alone is the driving force of the arms race. The armament of the Eastern Bloc is an armament which results exclusively from the armament and aggression of the West. They say, for example, that anyone who registers in the people's army makes the best possible contribution to peace that way. And nobody is allowed to criticize that; for them, the whole state is a single peace service, and therefore it is good. Independent initiatives necessarily produce a splitting up, and therefore they detract from the state's striving for unity. The policy to be followed in the long term is to strive for the disappearance of the blocs. Also, peace should normally not be defended with arms, but for them this is still an ideal. Hence, given the current situation they accept the armament and the bloc constellation as a nearly immovable fact.

Question: They don't talk about the SS-20?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: Their position toward the SS-20 is clearly dependent on whether or not the missile decision stands. As a matter of fact, that is the only bond they believe they have with the Western peace movement, in a first stage to stop the double NATO decision. This can be followed by an immediate reduction of the number of SS-20's, but then simultaneously also talk about the completion of the so-called Forward Based Systems, the British and French nuclear arms arsenals. Matters which could further bind us, in addition to the missile decision, are the fight against the neutron bomb, of which they are very much afraid, and a common appeal to the United States and the Soviet Union for the success of the Geneva negotiations on medium range nuclear arms.

Question: Do they still believe in those kinds of negotiations?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: With absolute conviction. It is hard, for example, to induce them into some kind of thought about unilateral steps. When you mention it, they immediately refer to Brezhnev's "No First Use" declaration and to the 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks which left the GDR in 1979. Further insistence will have them referring to United Nations resolution number such and such which, for example, includes proposals for the prohibition of neutron weapons, or United Nations resolution such and such about the prevention of a general nuclear war. As a matter of fact, quite a number of initiatives are on record at the United Nations, which were introduced by the GDR. But as far as concrete initiatives for Central Europe are concerned, there is nothing. This is also true, for example, when you refer to the Rapacki plan or to initiatives taken by Hungary and Rumania at one time to turn the Balkans into a nuclear free area. It is very hard to get them to consider the idea that the GDR must also take new initiatives.

Question: And what do they think about the West European peace movement?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: They only see us as a possible partner in the struggle against the NATO missiles and against the neutron weapon, as well as in the success of the peace negotiations. We told them that in the West, we still

have to deal with a very deeply rooted anticommunism and that it does not help us when they keep harping on the United States missiles like that. That is our struggle. We made it clear to them that we expect positive proposals from them.

Question: What was their response to that?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: Basically the same as what we just told you, something like: we have already made numerous proposals, we have already taken quite a number of initiatives, it is now up to you to do something. You see, the way those people think is similar to the way the state thinks. Although they don't like to hear that. At one point we began to put our foot into it by saying that they were a state institution. This produced an immediate and strong reaction. And yet, it really does come down to that. However, they see themselves as a peace movement which has wrested for itself a place under the sun. Something like: you are still in your infancy; perhaps 20 years from now you will be as far as we are.

Question: In addition, you also had contacts with the CFK, an organization which is closely related to the official Peace Council?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: For this, you have to go back a little in the history of the church in the GDR. Traditionally, the church in the GDR was a church at the service of whoever was in power. However, after the break between East and West, the church remained united for a long time. This lasted until 1968. But the splitting up had not yet been completed, or else another evolution had taken place within the East German church. There were people who thought that they should also take the peace message outside the church. And this is how the CFK came into existence. Thus, it is a movement of Christians within the church who zealously advocate peace, something like in the West the organization Christians for Socialism. As a matter of fact, in most East European countries these organizations already exist. They put Christianity at the service of real socialism. It is precisely for this reason that they closely associate themselves with the ideas of the official Peace Council. Consequently, you find the same people at the top of both the Peace Council and the CFK. It is a perfect overlapping. As a matter of fact, most of our talks with CFK members were also attended by representatives of the Peace Council. They had no objection to that at all. And yet, there are the so-called base communities within the CFK. It is there that for the first time we heard other noises about peace, of course when nobody from the Peace Council was present. Otherwise, people become silent. During a visit to one of those base communities we had to insist strongly before certain representatives of the Peace Council would leave the hall. The reason given for this was the infringement of the separation between typically church matters and matters of state. The church in the GDR concluded such an agreement with the state. So it was there that for the first time we heard a different wind blowing. They often talked about militarization trends within the East German society. Those trends are rather new and they make much headway. Some people described their society as more aggressive than the West European society. They pointed, for example, to the drills in "Zivilverteidigung" [civilian defense], which are drills within the framework of civilian protection against nuclear war. These drills have increased recently, in schools, factories...

Question: How many base communities are there?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: In terms of size and numbers, you can compare them with our parishes, because the base communities form the basic structure of the Evangelical Church in the GDR. When you hear the differences of opinion between these people and the members of the Peace Council, then it becomes clear that as far as the peace movement is concerned, everything is directed from the top, and that no impulse is supposed to come from below.

Question: We haven't talked about the "From Swords into Plowshares" movement yet.

Barrez and Nachtergaele: That is a movement which is particularly strong among the youth. But it also maintained its ties with the Evangelical Church. Again for the same reason: opposition within the GDR is not possible; to think differently within the GDR is not possible, except within the church structures. In the GDR, as in Poland, the church is the only place where you can speak freely. In turn, this produces an enormous feeling of powerlessness, something like: what can we do here; we are stuck in a system which is even worse than the ones in the West. You can see that someone supports the "From Swords into Plowshares" movement by the cloth sticker he wears on his jacket. It is a copy of the picture the Soviet Union gave to the United Nations after the Second World War. It is also a reference to the bible text which deals with it. This sticker was first used at the second Peace Decade, in November 1981. The sticker itself was an idea from the bishops and was meant to develop a bond with those young people who usually like to run around with symbols. Just like in our country. It became extremely popular and was therefore prohibited. The sticker is seen as an infiltration by a mechanism from outside the GDR, intended to create opposition within the administration.

Question: And the movement itself?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: After a while it was prohibited also, even though it was enormously successful. It had become a point of crystallization for all those who were dissatisfied with the system. The "Frieden Schaffen ohne Waffen" [Build Peace without Weapons] idea can no longer be openly expressed. "From Swords into Plowshares" has now become an enemy of peace.

Question: How large do you estimate the support for this movement to be?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: Very large. There were, for example, 5,000 people at the peace forum in the church in Dresden and we know that about 4,000 people signed a petition for an alternative military service. This is actually quite a lot, because it is very hard to unite 5,000 people in the GDR around a theme which does not correspond to the official strategy.

Question: Isn't there an alternative military service yet then?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: Yes, they call that the system of construction soldiers. These are people who do not fulfil their military service under arms, but who do nothing other than build runways for military airplanes and make barracks rise out of the ground. On the other hand, there is also the fact



however that anyone who has been a construction soldier can never again get a job at a university. A kind of blacklisting for people who have been active in the peace movement.

Question: What do you expect from the East German peace movement in the future?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: If the independent peace movement keeps active around certain concrete themes, such as militarization within their society or alternative military service, then it can continue to exist. Another theme could be opposition to the "Wehrkunde-unterricht" course. Did you know that there are plans for this course, which at present is still being taught by professors, to be taught by military personnel in the future?

Question: No more actions against nuclear arms?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: That will be difficult; the independent peace movement no longer has any structure left. And it is in itself already difficult to speak about nuclear arms there. The East Germans have never been directly faced with them. There are only launching installations in the GDR, no nuclear warheads.

Question: The whole trip was in fact a disappointment then?

Barrez and Nachtergaele: As a matter of fact, yes. We had expected more from the East German peace movement. At least more than being led around for a week without much result, like official party delegations are led around, with a great deal of wining and dining. Hence, not what we had gone there for. Of course, as an insight into a peace movement which is led by the state, it was a fruitful trip.

8463

CSO: 3614/31

## NEMETH HEARS CSEPEL PROBLEMS, DISCUSSES POLICY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Jozsef Solyom: "For the Solution of Our Problems, With Exemplary Responsibility"]

[Text] On Monday, Karoly Nemeth, a member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, visited the Csepel Iron and Metal Works, in the company of Gabor Paizs, a department chief of the Budapest Party Committee.

Antal Ernszt, first secretary of the party committee at the Csepel Iron and Metal Works, and Istvan Erdei, deputy director general, briefed Karoly Nemeth on the situation of the famous 90-year-old industrial giant that has an output of more than 18 billion forints a year. They said that also in 1982, in accordance with the resolution of the 12th party congress and the directives for the 6th Five-Year Plan, their most important economic and political objective would be to improve the economy's equilibrium and to contribute successfully toward maintaining the achieved standard of living.

Adjusting to the conditions, the party committee set for its political work such principal tasks that would aid the realization of the most important objectives; for example, modernization of the product structure, improvement of the ability to export, better coordination between production and marketing, modernization of internal management, and broader enterprise independence within the Csepel Works.

### Industrial Giant in Difficult Situation

The local tasks in strengthening the party's leading role, and the problems of developing the party's internal life were discussed in the spirit of these same major concerns. Antal Ernszt emphasized that political work among the masses at the Csepel Works was concentrating on spreading awareness of the fact that their tasks could be realized only through efficient, disciplined and purposeful work, and therefore everyone had to do his own work to the best of his knowledge and ability. Under the changed difficult conditions, the results during the first 6 months had been promising. From midyear on, however, the economic results gradually worsened. The secretary of the party committee pointed out that the causes of this were mostly external ones: constriction of the foreign market, and a declining order book. He spoke simply and frankly about the internal causes of their failures. For example, although their technological and management discipline improved, they were coping with a serious manpower shortage, because the work force of the Csepel Works had dropped by 976 workers.

Communists at the factory are doing significant political work to rally the forces and to constantly strengthen confidence in the party. For the people are worried. Many of them, especially the ones with children, are worried about the tense international situation. No fewer among them are worried about the economy and are wondering whether the realization of party policy and attainment of the set objectives will succeed even amidst a world economic crisis. There are quite a few who fear for Csepel's future. The people at the factory are aware that the National Planning Commission--or rather, on its behalf, an interministerial committee--is investigating the situation of the Csepel Works and will submit proposals for a solution.

After the briefing, the managers of the Csepel Works invited their guest to tour the factory. He visited the Iron Works, the Institute of Control and Computer Technology, the Metal Works, and the Machine Tool Factory. During the tour, facts were presented to show that even the successes achieved through hard work can occasionally become the sources of problems.

In the steel mill, for example, steel made with the most modern Swedish oxygen-lance process was just being tapped. Pipes made of such steel do not have to undergo heat treatment. During the first six months, they could not make enough of this product to satisfy all customers. Since midyear, however, it is no longer a question of price: momentarily you cannot sell steel pipe on the capitalist market at any price.

The situation was somewhat similar in the wire mill. The secretary of the Central Committee was shown an American wire-making line that represents the most advanced technology. Its practical advantage is that it can produce five times as much as previously, with only 27 men instead of 170. But the price of even the most modern wire has dropped substantially, while the price of the starting material, copper, jumped several times during the first six months. Since the imported material has become more expensive, the line costing more than 350 million dollars is temporarily idle.

After these depressing problems it was a relief to visit the high-precision plant of the Machine Tool Factory. Here the guest was acquainted with the numerically controlled machine tools that have won, and are still enjoying, the customers' satisfaction throughout the world.

#### With Stricter Discipline, More Effectively

After the inspection tour, the party committee at the Csepel Works held an enlarged meeting to which the enterprises' political leaders and economic managers were invited. Antal Ernszt called the meeting to order. Laszlo Kiss, the secretary of the party committee, reported on the early December deliberations of the MSZMP Central Committee. Next, Istvan Erdei, deputy director general, provided information on the state of the 1982 plan's fulfillment at the Csepel Works and on the most important tasks in the coming year.

The speakers in the debate on this item on the agenda were: Ervin Ban, director of the Csepel Works Service Enterprise; Janos Farkas, secretary of the Metal Works' trade-union committee; Jozsef Hossala, secretary of the local party organization at the Pipe Factory; and Karoly Nemeth.



In his contribution to the debate, Karoly Nemeth greeted his hosts and conveyed the best wishes of the MSZMP Central Committee, and of Janos Kadar personally, to the Csepel Communists and to every employee of the Csepel Works. He said that his forenoon inspection tour had convinced him that work was proceeding diligently and that the overwhelming majority of the workers were doing everything they had to do, in accordance with their belief and honor.

He apologized for not being able on this occasion to dwell in detail on the specific problems of Csepel, but the competent authorities were investigating possible solutions. He emphasized that obviously a solution had to be found that would be good for the country, and good for this politically and economically important large enterprise. He said no one had to fear not having a job commensurate with his abilities and knowledge. In this context he noted:

"In this sense, no one in our country has to fear the future. But it is undeniable that we have created fairly many unnecessary jobs, and that very valuable machinery and installations are now idle. This is not good for anyone."

He said that the world economic crisis was affecting increasingly also the development of our country. Under these circumstances both the country and each individual had the opportunity and the duty to work in a more disciplined manner and more effectively. The party was fulfilling its leading role even under the present difficult conditions; it was directing politically and ideologically our combined efforts for the prosperity of our country. This would remain so also in the future.

#### Mutual Trust Between the Party and People

He went on to discuss the mutual trust between the party and the people as an exceptionally important factor of our domestic stability. During the past quarter century, this trust had been the source of our development. Therefore it was the primary duty of the party and of all its members to fight for continuously strengthening this trust. He then spoke frankly of the hard times that could be expected: "By our work this year we have been able to improve somewhat the economy's external equilibrium: our balance of nonruble-denominated foreign trade is expected to show a surplus of 400 million dollars at the end of the year. Nonetheless we must invariably continue to give preference to maintaining our solvency, over all other demands.

"This does not mean that the party has abandoned a single one of the objectives formulated by the 12th party congress. All the tasks that the party has set for itself are still valid. We have no reason to modify our policy and objectives, and we will not do so. However, it is also possible and probable that, due to the pressure of economic circumstances, some strata might find themselves next year amidst more difficult living conditions, and their living standard might decline temporarily."

He pointed out that the first step toward the solution of the problems confronting the nation was to face the realities, noting that several speakers from among the Csepel working collective had expressed the same idea. We had to look at things as they really were, and not in the light we would like to see them. We must not gild reality, neither for ourselves nor for the benefit of the superior organs. This was the proper Communist behavior.

The Politburo member continued: "In such a situation, the political responsibility and example of the party members are especially important. We are not infallible, but the party collectively is less likely to be mistaken, and this is especially true if the party acts jointly with the people. I emphasize this because some people are behaving as if we were placing ourselves above the community and were claiming to always know everything better. It is the primary duty of Communists to speak out against those who are thinking along these lines, who are not enhancing but wasting the moral capital that the MSZMP has accumulated in its struggle over more than a quarter century. Those who are selfless, disciplined and working honestly set the tone and outlook of every workplace," concluded Karoly Nemeth at the enlarged meeting of the party committee at the Csepel Works.

1014

CSO: 2500/83

MINISTER OF CULTURE HIGHLIGHTS GOALS OF EDUCATION

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian No 42, 17 Dec 82 pp 3-5

[Interview with Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Kopeczi, educators are gratified by your repeated statements in recent months that our schools need stability. What do you mean by stability?

[Answer] Stability does not mean standing still. The point is that we ponder certain basic questions over a longer period of time and take action only very deliberately, with due consideration for the time factor. Let me quote Jozsef Eotvos who said: "The matter of education is something for which momentary enthusiasm can do very little. It is a plant that can be grown only with constant cultivation, a cause whose success depends on the continuity and consistency of our efforts, rather than on the initial zeal with which we go about it."

What kind of continuity do we have in mind? First of all, the continuation of the reform, and within it the completion of the content's modernization. We will introduce the new curricula and textbooks by 1986. Parallel with this, we will debate the already tested textbooks and decide on the schedule for implementing the necessary corrections. We believe that the textbooks should be used for at least three years before we introduce the appropriate changes. We have requested the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to moderate the debate, and we are also organizing the participation of practicing educators. From the viewpoint of continuity, introduction of the five-day school week poses a special problem. Next March we will evaluate the experience gained, but we will be making changes only where truly necessary. Continuity involves also foresight. Next year we will have to prepare the long-range concept of education's development, which will attempt to project the trends in education over the next 20 years. It is essential that also in this case we rely on experience and analyses, and that we propose changes in our educational system only for when the conditions, including the economic conditions, are ripe for them.

Stability has certain elements related to discipline at school, to the school's internal environment, to subjective conditions. We would like to give educators more independence in the substantive questions that have evoked so much controversy lately, and we of course would like to achieve that the school as an organization recognize this independence of the educators. Independence requires

security, security from the viewpoint of livelihood and working conditions, but also from the viewpoint of what the school wants to teach and how much the educator is willing to undertake. I believe that much uncertainty stems specifically from a too general formulation of the objectives, from their many different interpretations, and from a lack of conviction. Hungarian education unquestionably has many contradictions and weaknesses, but we may safely say that the past decade has been characterized by reforms that wanted to achieve a change in the right direction, progress and modernization. International comparisons show that substantively we are not lagging behind. We must support innovations, even though we may criticize some of them, and we must work consistently to advance the spirit of reform, to achieve that Hungarian schools meet the requirements of the times in spreading knowledge and in the formation of moral traits and character. Security provides the basis also for consistency, which must be asserted at every level.

[Question] The questions of schools discipline have been raised with almost elemental force in the press and among educators since we reported what happened at a Bank Ban performance for students. In your opinion, how are our youths behaving, and what must be done to assess the problem properly?

[Answer] I will start by going back a bit further. The question of school discipline cannot be separated, or can be separated only partially, from the disciplined behavior of society. In Western societies a debate has been going on for a long time on the question of so-called permissiveness. The ideologues of the "New Left," such as Marcus, regard permissiveness in present-day capitalist society as a "diversion" that serves to preserve the social system. In other words, this has to do with the fact that modern capitalist society ensures the individual unlimited freedom in the sphere of his personal activity, so that in the economy and in politics it may pursue its own activity, which is indeed very conservative. Socialist society does not need such permissiveness, but there are certain signs of such behavior also in our country. It is typical that the young people who were disciplined for the disturbance they caused at the Bank Ban performance in Studio '82 defended themselves by pointing out that adults were no better; they objected to being called to account for drinking when that was customary among adults. I do not think we can excuse the students on the grounds that adults also drink, but we must condemn adults for being so intemperate. They are responsible for the prevalence of alcoholism as a modern disease in Hungary, for which there is no excuse.

I believe that primarily the families are responsible for how their children behave, and in this respect there is no difference between social strata or levels of education. Sociologists contend that today the family is the most stable unit within Hungarian society. If this is true, then families must be made aware of their responsibility not only for providing financial support but also for moral upbringing. A significant proportion of the families do not bring up their children properly and often allow them to do anything they please. Under such circumstances the situation of the school becomes difficult, but even so it is necessary to take upon ourselves the maintenance and enforcement of sensible discipline.

The advocates of permissive upbringing frequently contend that we must not revert to the old methods of disciplining and instead should employ the latest results in psychology, with the help of which children can be led voluntarily

along the right path. I am not opposed to the new pedagogy, nor to using the new opportunities provided by psychology, but there are also intellectual and moral methods of making children behave, in addition to the physical ones. Why are we not using them? Authority is of course a prerequisite for using these intellectual and moral methods, the authority of the school as a whole or the authority of the individual teacher. Perhaps I will be accused of wanting to restore authority in the autocratic sense. I will gladly accept this accusation in an atmosphere that tends to question any authority, and simultaneously also any value and ideal. Thus my answer is: We do need ideals, values and authority, and also--with their help--sensible order and discipline, and we must create a self-disciplining collective in the school.

[Question] The Agitation and Propaganda Department of the MSZMP Central Committee, its Department of Party and Mass Organizations, the Institute of Social Sciences, the KISZ Central Committee, and the Szabolcs-Szatmar Megye MSZMP Committee held in early September a theoretical conference entitled "Youth and Society." Why was the Ministry of Culture and Education absent from the list of sponsors and conferees? It should be noted here that lately there has been much criticism from society regarding the poor state of public education. What does the ministry intend to do to keep the questions of education on the agenda and to solve them if possible?

[Answer] A representative of the Ministry of Culture and Education attended the mentioned conference, but there the issue of education did not receive the emphasis it should have deserved. In our own defense I would like to say that in this case the social and economic problems were in the forefront of attention. In her report, Eva Ancsel did mention the issue of education in the context of her general topic, changing values. I do not agree with her that today the main danger--if one might speak of a main danger at all--is authoritarian behavior. In my opinion, what prevails in this respect today is uncertainty, and at most both parents and teachers are responding to the problems in an authoritarian manner. But I do agree with her when she states that "the present generation of teachers are coping with uncertainty, which they are trying to conceal from their young charges who sense the false note and are repelled by the lack of seriousness. When they see that values are being disproved, this only breeds cynicism in them." Yes, this is what we have here. Adult society has been unable to develop the firm system of values on which a long consolidated society, or even a revolutionary society, is able to rely. This is confirmed also by the studies that Elemer Hankiss and others conducted, and which show that in our society there exist side by side systems of values that are indeed very heterogeneous. Under these conditions it is necessary to espouse every new value that is brought to the public's attention, such as the widespread values of equality, social justice, consciousness and search for identity. In my opinion, however, we must simultaneously attach more importance to the traditional, humanistic values. Over the thousands of years of mankind's existence, there has gained acceptance a code of conduct that today is a part of everyday experience, but in revolutionary times we tend to relegate its importance to second place. Perhaps I will be considered an archconservative, but among the Ten Commandments I still regard as timely the one about honoring your father and mother.

We could cite also the ideas and statements of the humanist philosophers, writers and artists who elevated to the level of great values the human experience

of thousands of years, such as the views regarding love, honor or selflessness. The school that we discussed in conjunction with the reform's introduction will have to be based on a system of values that amalgamates the old and the new, and we will also have to find the forms and methods through which this new system of values will gain acceptance and can be inscribed in the minds as well as the hearts.

In the course of substantive modernization there have been introduced new plans not only for instruction but also for training. These contain the principles and also refer to the methods to be employed. The new textbooks, too, strive to take the aspects of training into account, although with varying degrees of success. The most important, in my opinion, is that the gaining of an education should not consist solely of knowledge; it should also point out the values, ideals and examples. In this respect I attribute special significance to the teaching of history and literature. We must not be satisfied merely with teaching the general trends and analyzing the forms; in history we must see also the individuals; and in literature, also the aesthetic qualities that are inseparable from morality. An important task is to provide ideological training in a synthesizing manner. We must review the program and textbooks of the subject known as the fundamentals of our world outlook.

We can acquire values only if we are also able to practice them. To practice them in the most diverse collectives, in the given case also in school. Good collectives must be formed based on the proven traditions of school democracy. In this respect we must make suitable use of the classes, students' dormitories and other organizational forms, not to mention the organizations for children and youths. Actually these things are common knowledge. Realization always depends on individuals, on the principals, faculties and individual teachers. The Ministry of Culture and Education would like to start an extensive debate on the state of education, in the course of which parents, teachers and representatives of social organizations would report their experiences, and which would also serve to inform the public about our objectives.

[Question] At its April session, the Central Committee defined the tasks confronting education. Are the financial conditions for their realization ensured?

[Answer] On the basis of the Central Committee's April resolution we have prepared our program of implementation. One important task in this program is a study of the financial conditions, not in the short term but from the viewpoint of the development during the coming decades. We must expect larger outlays than up to now particularly in secondary and higher education, presumably after 1995. The order of magnitude of these outlays will depend on the progress of our economy.

So far as the present needs of education are concerned, the government will continue to support the development of kindergartens and grade schools. Next year, for example, an additional 1200 classrooms will be built. On the basis of a separate decision, also our system of institutions for the care of youths and children will be expanded. In 1983 we will have to submit a presentation on the living and working conditions of teachers, together with proposals based on the conclusions of our study. I would like to remind you that the Central Committee resolution also states: "In accordance with the country's financial



capabilities, measures must be introduced for a perceptible improvement of the teachers' income situation."

[Question] I must ask you separately about the textbook situation. In your opinion, what are the prospects for a long-term solution to this problem in the near future?

[Answer] So far as textbooks are concerned, it is common knowledge that this year more than 2,500 textbooks and study aids have been published in a total of 32 million copies. Among the textbooks there were 200 new ones. To publish such a volume of textbooks and study aids each year would place an incredible burden on the publishing houses, the printing industry and the book trade. This year, with few exceptions, the textbooks appeared in due time, and we did not have any special problems in distributing them to the elementary schools.

However, there were problems in selling the textbooks for secondary schools. So far as the future is concerned, the first step will be to publish the rest of the new textbooks, and provisions must be made in due time--as I have already indicated--for revising the tested textbooks and for preparing their new editions. Parallel with this we must examine what should be done with distribution. Should we introduce free textbooks, at least in certain categories, and the mandatory returning of the textbooks at the end of the school year; or should we retain the present system, provide suitable incentives and organize the voluntary resale of used textbooks, thereby reducing the financial burden of the economy? At present we are still debating the proposals. Whichever solution we adopt, it will be necessary to ensure the material supply, technical, organizational and financial conditions for it. Incidentally, it will be necessary to review also the output of supplies (copybooks and homework sheets). We must examine whether or not we have exaggerated their introduction and thereby tied the teachers' hands. In the textbook debate it was also proposed that alternative or optional textbooks be written for the general subjects. We will have to decide all these questions next year, but it will be worth while to introduce a new system of supply only when the revisions will have been made.

[Question] As a historian, what is your opinion of the situation in teaching social sciences and history in our schools? Have you had time to leaf through some of the new history textbooks, and if so, what is your opinion of them?

[Answer] It is common knowledge that not every branch of the social sciences is being taught in our schools. It will also be remembered that, specifically for this reason, the Education Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences recommended, in conjunction with the elaboration of the concept of modern education, that there be also blocks of subjects that would permit the integration of such branches of science as government and law sciences, economics or sociology. Some signs of these efforts already are evident also in the new textbooks. In the eighth grade of elementary school, for example, history has been integrated with civics.

In the instruction of history I find that more space is being devoted also to art history, in addition to political history and economic history. The new textbooks are more colorful, with better illustrations, and also their bibliographic sources are broader than up to now. This applies particularly to the textbooks for the seventh grade of elementary schools and for the third and fourth years of high school.

The authors of the textbooks also have attempted pedagogical innovations: they are employing questions, problems and summaries to aid comprehension. To my knowledge, this has already sparked debate. In the opinion of some, the "programming" has been too successful, relegating the personality of the teacher entirely to the background. As an example I would cite the history textbook for the fourth year of high school. It employs these methods in its exposition of 20th century history. Here again we can only applaud the extensive source material, the effort to explain the main issues also in the form of debate, and the bibliography at the end of each chapter. But it is surprising that one of the most controversial questions, the question of national minorities, has not been documented, and no ethnic data or maps are presented to clarify the actual situation of the national minorities. In addition, one sometimes gets the feeling that the textbook is too detailed, wanting to document also questions that are less significant. I think it is a great innovation that the textbook covers 20th century history to the present time, but specifically here it should have offered more details for a better understanding of the processes, in political history and cultural history as well. I cannot offer a detailed review of this textbook, but what I have just said will probably suffice to illustrate that, in my opinion, the introduction of the new curricula and textbooks truly represents a change in approach, content and methods. It is enough to compare the old history book for the fourth year of high school, with the present one. Thus I think the effort was not in vain.

Reverting to the teaching of the social sciences, it must be admitted that, in spite of some progress, we have not yet succeeded in including in instruction useful and practical knowledge of the economy and society. Therefore we must continue to consider how this could be achieved, how we could rely to a greater extent on the means of extramural learning, on the mass media, publications, and on the work of the Society for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge. Here we truly need cooperation between education and culture.

1014

CSO: 2500/82



TEXT OF GLEMP CHRISTMAS ADDRESS PUBLISHED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 24-26 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

["Text" of sermon by Archbishop Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, at Warsaw on Christmas day 1982]

[Text] "And the Word was made Flesh" (John 1.14)--this is how St John the Evangelist described the birth of the baby Jesus. The mystery of Christmas approaches us each December in the silence of Christmas Eve. With the approach of the "[word unclear] night" we come closer to the truths embodied in Christmas. However, we cannot fully grasp all of God's intentions which were fulfilled in the Word when it became Flesh and "dwelt among us."

The truths of Christmas tell us about human poverty, about the Family seeking shelter in Bethlehem, having to leave Nazareth on the orders of the administrative officials of that time. It speaks to us about God's help for Man, about the joyous hymn "glory to God in the highest, and on Earth peace to men of good will," as well as about human goodwill, about the shepherds' voluntarily organizing help for the Child, Mary and Joseph. The fundamental problems of each man are encompassed in these three elements--the individual, the family and the neighbor. The individual should have social dignity. And a true family should be characterized by close bonds between its individual members. On the other hand, neighbors are people outside the family, representatives of more distant social circles but acting with mutual good will toward one another. A neighbor is not a stranger but a loved individual. "This is my commandment, that you love one another as I have loved you" (John 5.12). The Christian bond among the individual, family and neighbor is God accepted on faith. He is very necessary for us as an interhuman bond. We need God; our fatherland needs Him and the world needs Him. That is why the Word brought forth ages ago by the Father was born in time as a man from the Virgin Mary.

We are now living through a third Christmas of national tensions. Many wounds remain in our memory and emotions. And it is evident that many slogans, programs and even neighbors irritate us. They are like irritations to unbandaged wounds. These wounds should be treated carefully because even stroking them causes pain. Therefore, let us not aggravate these wounds during these holy days when God is born and heaven appeals for peace: "Peace to men of good will."

We need prayers in these holy days of family peace. Is it perhaps that we do not pray enough, do not stand before God with open hearts, in childlike faith in God Almighty? We now have the opportunity to stand before the manger in our sanctuaries. In the calm of the Bethlehem manger we will find tranquility and time to think a while longer on the Word that became Flesh. Let us also linger near the Mother of God. The one bent over the helpless Child in the manger is the same one in the revered Jasna Gora jubilee portrait.

The Jasna Gora Mother, we firmly believe, also watches over us as a resourceless people of her choosing--the Polish people. She lavishes her attention on the Church. Then again the Church gathers her own under its wings, like a laying hen protects her chicks against a storm. The Church is a community of faith. Faith is obtained by prayer. In seeking the opportunity for prayer, we discover a community of people who pray, we discover a neighbor open to love, we discover the Church. I continue to urge you to pray. Take the rosary in hand; let the mysteries of the rosary prayers mark each day of the Jasna Gora jubilee.

Beloved brothers and sisters! Let us strengthen ourselves through prayer because a difficult year awaits us. We must protect ourselves physically because many families are threatened with lack of adequate food. We also must protect ourselves against spiritual danger. Depression and apathy, bitterness and despondency, public feeling and desperation are threats to our spirit. It is difficult to build social order on such frustrating internal feelings. On the other hand, the Church, to which we are faithful, wishes to base its national community on imperishable moral principles as expressed socially in the lessons of the last ecumenical council and the papal encyclicals. There we also will find the source of the true interpretations of our national goals and criteria for patriotic actions.

The difficult year of 1983 awaits us, which we call in our pastoral program the 'Year of Hope.' For a Christian, that hope is Jesus Christ, and Mary, His Mother and the Mother of our Church, leads us to Him.

I strongly urge all social groups, especially the intelligentsia and youth, to embrace this miraculous hope. By youth I mean school children, students and young married couples longing for some kind of an apartment. Young people, at least most of them, experienced the greatest troubles in the past months, experienced disruptions in time needed for peaceful study, for reasonable recreation, for the opportunity for self-education within their associations. The intelligentsia and creative circles are being greatly constrained by administrative pressures, and they do not have sufficient strength to break through the structures administrating particular schemes. These groups need Christian hope badly!

The return visit by the Holy Father, John Paul II, to Poland is a concrete sign of this hope. We should accept this gift with much heart and an open mind. The Holy Father's visit will be primarily a religious and church event, and thus a super event relative to social realities. We will strive to make John Paul's pilgrimage such that the honors to our Lady of Czestochowa will take precedence, and the papal celebration of the jubilee year will be expressed in a most momentous act of prayer. In this pilgrimage we, together

with the pope, also want to honor Blessed Maksymilian Kolbe, a hero of quiet love of neighbor. We will work on this program in the spirit of faith. On the occasion of the apostolic visit and based on this faith, we will offer God our gifts:

--The gift of life, that is the defense of the unborn, and the defense of each individual against violations to his property and dignity;

--The gift of a dignified life, that is the gift of sobriety, the gift of limiting rationally and freely alcoholic drinks and other stimulants;

--The gift of a Christian life, that is the gifts of prayer, sacrifice and good works of charity.

Beloved Sisters and Brothers!

Please accept my warm greeting as expressed by the Word that was made Flesh and by the love of the most Holy Mother who is our hope. May the words of Christian comfort which Christmas brings us be heard in the cities, settlements and rural areas; may the invigorating words of our carols ring out among the workers, artisans and farmers; may the peace of God envelop offices and official departments; may God's wisdom be an inspiration to scholars, students and graduates; may the grace of God be with all of you.

I bless you.

11899

CSO: 2600/184

SOCIOLOGIST DISCUSSES SURVEY OF YOUTH VIEWS ON SOCIALISM

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Nov 82 p 3

[Interview with Prof (Dr) Bronislaw Golebiowski, director of Sociology of Politics Department, Institute of Political Science, University of Warsaw, by Alicja Matynia-Bonik: "Looking for a Perspective.... With Youth--Like With Fire--You Cannot Play."]

[Text] [Question] In your scientific research you devoted considerable attention to the problem of the young generation, its attitudes towards life and towards the socialist direction of the development of our country. During this time of crisis, have you occupied yourself with the problem of youth?

[Answer] Our Sociology of Politics Department specializes, among other topics, in the problems of youth and collaborates with the Institute of Research on Youth. This Institute conducted a survey among high school, vocational and technical students in May of the current year.

I have also completed an analysis of teenagers' diaries, written at the turn of 1980/81. These were sent in response to a contest offered by Lomza magazine KONTAKTY (over 500 responses).

[Question] What was the topic of these studies, and what did the organizers want to know?

[Answer] We were interested in the attitudes, outlooks and opinions of youth on the current crisis situation. We also wanted to find out whether they see prospects of getting out of the crisis. Analysis of the survey conducted in May of the current year has not been completed. I am only able to talk about the part of the research in which I was employed, namely, about the views of the respondents on the following subjects: how do they see the perspectives of the socialist development of our country and the world, assuming of course, that this socialism will be carried out according to its principles; do they think that the introduction of martial law was a necessity in order to save the country against further anarchy and in order to save the possibilities of socialist renewal by means of economic, social and structural reform; or is it, in their opinion, the breakdown of the socialist renewal?

The last page of the questionnaire was a "free forum" where the respondents could ask questions and speak out on any subject in which they were interested and touch on what, in their opinion, are the essential issues or write what they wanted of course. Naturally, not everybody took advantage of that, as it always is with questionnaires. After all there is no obligation to answer all the questions, even anonymously. The survey included 1200 students, as I have already mentioned, from various types of high schools all over the country. Thus, it was a typical representational group for conducting a sociological analysis.

[Question] What do the teenagers think, the generation which, in one, two or three years will start, or at least some will, the independent life of a citizen?

[Answer] There are two distinctly extreme groups. Some think that the development of the world, including our country, should go on according to the principles of the socialist system. The others say definitely "no". Both, the first and the latter, constitute 10 to 15 percent of the respondents and take totally opposite views. All other undecided persons, about 70 percent, who answer "rather yes", or "rather no", or "I have no opinion" are between those two. It is worthwhile to mention, that there is about two thirds of those answering "yes" or "rather yes".

I would like to devote more attention to those who are answering "rather yes" and "rather no". In my opinion, they should be treated together, since they are in the same category of the young people who, as a matter of fact, talk about the same subject and their reservations towards real socialism in our country.

The views vary depending on the degree of disillusionment in socialism being realized in our country. Distrust, disappointment and ignorance, or giving in to the foreign and domestic antisocialist propaganda, can be observed here.

These young people form their "rather yes" reservations under the condition that socialism will achieve social justice. Here all the main characteristics of socialism are enumerated. They form the "rather no" reservations, because they do not believe that it is possible to carry out the beautiful but unrealistic ideas in our situation or in the situation of other countries.

It is surprising how few expressed reservations for the world outlook. Those young people, who say they believe in God, for the most part, do not notice any threat on the part of socialism towards their religion. Statements, that capitalism can ensure well being and socialism cannot, are rare. However, it is emphasized that socialism is too idealistic and does not take into consideration the complicated human nature aiming at the fulfillment of egoistic goals. It was stressed that nothing will result from socialism if there is a lack of self-discipline.

I was pleasantly surprised, because these views prove that: first of all, the young people are thinking; and secondly, that it is not true that there is a total disbelief in socialism.... However, I would say there is a total and

and angry rejection of all those negative phenomena and wrongdoings which took place in the 70's, such as malpractice, embezzlement and getting rich at the cost of the society. There was observed a total rejection and condemnation of everything that was associated with the arrogance and hypocrisy of most of the government of that era. Young people are very sensitive. They observed all of these phenomena in various forms around them in cities as well as towns and villages. The problem concerns the authorities on all levels, not only the team closest to Gierak....

[Question] What conclusions can be drawn out of these studies?

[Answer] The first conclusion that we came to is that the social practice has a huge impact on the upbringing of this generation. Any hypocrisy and, in particular, cynical, conscious discrepancy between words and actions brought and will bring about fatal results. Second conclusion: it is not true that this generation is ready to cross out socialism as an idea. This generation has considerable doubts concerning the idea of whether it will work out in real life. This generation is inclined to doubt the reality of socialism and, in particular, its practical application in life. This generation is wondering whether egoistic human nature is able to create mechanisms which would enable real adaptation of socialist principles for themselves. Next conclusion: this generation needs different information about socialism than the previous generations.

The prewar generation lived through the downfall of hopes connected with the Second Republic. Then it lived through the terrors of war. After the liberation it faced the hardship of rebuilding the country. Maybe because of all of that, the ideal vision of socialism was sufficient. After all there were no signs of malpractice yet.

Now an unheard-of open, substantive analysis is needed, about what socialism is and what it can be in our country. What circumstances are needed so that the idea would be closer to reality. And we do not have such an analysis, so to speak. Information on the subject is scarce. Teenagers do not know much about the state and democracy. We talk about equality and justice. But how should those slogans be realized in practice--there is a lack of necessary information or knowledge, even though they are required.

The young generation wants to accept socialism as a reality which can be mutually created by this generation and the rest of the people and not as a kind of revelation of something beyond human worldly necessity. Socialist ideals have to be ideals executed by this generation in order that they may be accepted and valued by this group in the future.

Generalized ideals and slogans are mostly rejected by the young generation. It is a positive phenomenon. However, it is upsetting that there is a disbelief in the possibility of applying socialist ideals in a concrete reality and in activities for shaping inter-human relationships. For instance, at school, in the local community, in a gmina [parish] and among the people. The up-to-now depreciation of socialist ideals by crooks and operators and the general lack of know-how to carry out these ideals in life are the sources of this disbelief.

[Question] Is there a possibility, in your opinion, that this generation will start believing in the reality of socialism? What is needed?

[Answer] Naturally. But there has to be a real practice of applying those ideals in life. For example, schools should take into consideration the teaching of democracy, evaluation and self-evaluation in a concrete situation to a greater extent. It is very difficult, but it is essential for this generation to renew itself ideologically. It is impossible to do it externally. Of course, we can help, but the main causative forces of this renewal are inherent in this group itself. As a matter of fact, there is a good, general potential for this renewal, because this group has broad interests. Even the arguments of definite opponents of socialism are seldom primitive. They are not the stereotypes of primitive anticommunist thinking. Besides, obstinacy seldom occurs in this generation, even among those who consider themselves absolute opponents of socialism. I suspect that a major part of this group, if faced with sound counterarguments, could change their attitude, for they are a thoughtful group of young people.

[Question] Well then, is this the generation which does not renounce socialism but ties its fate with the socialist ideas?

[Answer] I am convinced that this generation can act differently in concrete situations, and especially, that it is not too independent in its behaviour, but in no case is it the generation that renounces socialism. Among the teenagers, specific verification of elementary creditability and truthfulness of not only intentions but also of competence and means of carrying things out are highly valued. This is also observed in the critique of the teachers. This is not malicious and only occasionally exaggerated, but frequently, points out a certain type of didactic incompetence by means of false pretenses, hypocrisy and the artificiality in contacts with the students.

It is also worthwhile to mention that this is the first generation that does not associate ideals with institutions. On the contrary, in the feelings of this generation, a tremendous decrease in the authority of all institutions, both state and social, can be observed.

[Question] What kind of hierarchy of values are they establishing?

[Answer] A few studies on the subject of recognized values have been conducted. The results confirm each other. First of all, they value family, friendship and love. Considerable value is tied to personal life. They appreciate such work which would give material and professional satisfaction and which would induce self-education. They further enumerate those values which would provide for assured material existence and amenities of life. However, this is not a pursuit of luxury, but of a certain decent standard. Living quarters, especially with a refrigerator, TV set, and good tape recorder-player are the first priority. Then they mention a motorcycle or an automobile. Thus, it is not a consumer-oriented generation solely. The majority simply wants to live on the so-called middle European standard. The young want to have things that were previously promised. Today, they know that it will not happen quickly.



Getting out of this difficult situation may occur only by means of a frank, substantive analysis of its causes and, at the same time, by means of defining when and in what circumstances these expectations may be realistic. It is not sufficient to say: there was a vision, but it is gone, and we will not be promising anything anymore, because it was a mistake. One should plan realistically together with the young generation the way to realization of a decent standard of living in return for honest work. It is inevitable.

[Question] What are the prospects of making use of this knowledge about the generation of teenagers for their own good and for shaping the future of the country?

[Answer] We intend to publish the results. I do not see any objections against publishing all of the information contained in the research. We also want youth organizations to take an interest in the results of the studies, so that they would be as close as possible to the needs and aspirations of their members and would know what kind of attitudes are being held by the youth. It also seems that the results should be used for conducting a policy in which the youth would be the prime subject. For up to now the young people frequently were manipulated politically from either the left or from the right. And with youth--as with fire--one cannot play.

12246

CSO: 2600/128



POLISH-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY PLENUM HELD

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Nov 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] On November 20, 1982, the two-day plenary session of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society (TPPR) Headquarters (ZG) adjourned. Accepted was a resolution on the matter of the society's tasks in the current sociopolitical situation of the country, and also a declaration concerning the role of the TPPR in the Patriotic Movement for National Revival (PRON).

The plenum also made organizational changes. The deliberations were led by the director of the ZG of the TPPR, Stanislaw Wronski.

Saturday brought a continuation of the plenary discussion during which many comments and motions concerning the ideological-educational and propagandistic activities of the TPPR in all social and trade communities were submitted. Among other topics, the need to modernize the forms of everyday work, involving in this work especially youth, workers, and representatives of rural communities, was discussed. These matters were discussed in more detail during the first day of the plenum in four groups, each given one topic. The results of the groups' work were announced at Saturday's session.

In the group which dealt with the TPPR's activity among the working class, attention was given to the fact that TPPR units have not felt any particular help or support from party organization, nor from other organizations, among which are youth organizations, nor from administrative cadre of plants, in their undertakings. The active element of the TPPR should consist of a group of people with broad knowledge and high moral character enjoying respect and authority in workers' groups.

In the group taking up the question of ideological-educational work among youth, it was found that the young generation primarily needs facts from the rich history of Polish-Soviet relations and not ready conclusions. From this come the high expectations required of the educating cadre, which must be convinced of what they say and, appropriately, prepared to undertake substantial discussion with young people.

The next group was concerned with the question of the activity of the TPRP in the countryside. Here also was discussed the need for rebuilding organizational circles, especially those which bring together private farmers, members of production cooperatives, and state farm workers. Rural circles of TPRP should actively enter into activities promoting respect and understanding of the idea of alliance and friendship with the USSR. In this context it was noted that it is necessary to revitalize cooperation of the society's units with social, cooperative and socio-trade organizations, and also with cultural and educational organizations in the countryside.

Another group took up the matter of disseminating news of the multinational cultural achievements of the Soviet state and Polish-Russian cooperation in this sphere. It was considered essential to inspire artistic communities and cultural institutions and centers to present in Poland famous achievements of Soviet literature, poetry, theater, and film, and for the creative community to take up this cause. It was found that the dissemination of the values of Soviet culture is an important factor in mutual recognition and in close relations with the nations of both countries. A proposal was announced to organize a Polish-Soviet conference of the representatives of creative communities for the purpose of defining forms and methods of further cooperation.

At the plenum, secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Marian Orzechowski, emphasized that actions serving to strengthen brotherly alliance, friendship, and Polish-Soviet cooperation continue to be the unchanging principle of our country's policies dictated above all by the ideological rights and the unity of the goals of our parties, states and nations. He emphasized that just as Poland is interested in the existence of a powerful Soviet Union, increasing in strength, so the Soviet Union is interested in the existence of a strong, stable and secure Poland. These truths should reach the consciousness of all of society. This places new and important obligations on the TPRP which should modify its style of action, make it a reality, and adapt it to today's reality. But at the same time, the society, i.e., its active element, should be oriented to the achievement of long-range goals and subordinate daily activities to this most important goal.

#### Resolution

In the accepted resolution, the talk is of the necessity for a more effective resolution of the battle against any manifestations of anti-Soviet activity, for the popularization of the importance of cooperation and alliance, and for fixing the idea of friendship as fundamental guarantees for the security and favorable development of our country. Attention is paid to the need for cooperation of the TPRP with social and youth organizations, with future trade unions, with institutions of science, culture, and art, and with publishers, the press, radio, and TV. The need to develop contacts with the brother organization, the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society (TPRP), with friendly districts, plants, schools and universities of the USSR, and also with diplomatic institutions of the Soviet Union in Poland is stressed.

## Declaration on the TPPR's Role in PRON

In the declaration on the role of the TPPR in the Patriotic Movement for National Rival, it was emphasized that this social movement is becoming a platform rallying, in activity for the good of Poland, people of good will who are undertaking activity in the name of major causes, defense and the strengthening of the socialist state, constitutional order, inviolability, and alliance with the Soviet Union and states of the socialist community. In the movement for national revival, the society will be promulgating those values which will lead to consolidation of Polish-Soviet cooperation and friendship making for security of our borders, our independence and the socialist character of the state. The role of the TPPR in the realization of this noble idea of understanding on the part of the Poles, the declaration says in closing, should be expressed by the active participation of every member of the TPPR in the activity of regional units of PRON.

In the part concerning organizational changes, the plenum took note of the decision on the move of Wacław Barszczewski to work in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and released him from the function of secretary general of the ZG of TPPR. The ZG expressed its thanks to him for many years of service and for his contribution towards the strengthening and development of Polish-Soviet friendship. At the same time, the plenum appointed Wacław Barszczewski to the position of vice director of the ZG of the TPPR.

The plenum appointed to the position of secretary general of the ZG of the TPPR, 43-year-old Stefan Nawrot, party activist since 1971, and secretary of the Voivodship Administration of the TPPR in Katowice.

At the same time, the plenum complied with the request of secretary of the ZG of the TPPR, Ryszard Polkowski, who went to work in the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and released him from his position, thanking him for his work to date.

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CSO: 2600/169

POSSIBILITY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT IN POLAND DISCUSSED

Comments by Szczepanski

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 39, 13 Nov 82 p 1

/Commentary by Jan Szczepanski/

/Text/ The events of recent years have manifested the advanced stage of atrophy of political thought in Poland. The politics of the 1970's was limited; it did not meet the aspirations of society. The post-August explosion in turn exposed the naivete and lack of political qualifications of many people who at that time entered the arena or had already been in it for a long time.

We approached several people with the question, what sort of political thought is possible under our circumstances?

We invite those who are interested in the subject to express their own opinions.

The most laconic answer to this question came from Professor Jan Szczepanski:

Thank you very much for inviting me to the discussion. Since my statement on this subject is very brief, allow me to include it in this letter:

Politics in Poland is cultivated either in the sphere of thought or in the sphere of wishes. It was formed by the reality of Poland and Europe, but it was incapable of transforming this reality with visible results.

Stefanowicz Commentary

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 39, 13 Nov 82 p 3

/Commentary by Janusz Stefanowicz: "Political Thought Abhors a Vacuum"/

/Text/ Two recently published works reminded us--in a fragmentary way, to be sure--of the rich heritage of Polish political thought. Excerpts from

Professor Bogdan Suchodolski's "Polska i Polacy" [Poland and the Poles] (Part Three) show that that thought parallels European thought both temporally and conceptually: the creation of modern foundations of statehood in the 15th and 16th centuries; the philosophical disputes of the Enlightenment period; the development of political ideologies in the 19th and 20 centuries. Professors H. and T. Jedruszcak focus on the last period (1866-1925) in a more detailed selection of documents entitled "Powstanie II Rzeczypospolitej" [The Origin of the Second Republic]. All that needs to be said, in addition is that political thought did not perish with the demise of that republic.

Conceptions of the interwar period were defeated, it is true, but in exchange leftist thought flourished, especially of the communist variety, preparing to accept responsibility for the future of the country. But there was more than just one current. A second one that was much more diverse contained various political and even systemic notions deriving from a Christian motivation--ranging from an attempt to bring Christian Democracy back to life in the form of a Labor Party, to the radical socialist political thought of B. Piasecki and the "Today and Tomorrow" group he founded and, more recently, PAX. On the other hand, whether in opposition to, or in alliance with the Workers' Party, the popular movement played an insignificant role in the formation of new political thought.

Around 1948, with the joining of the PPR [Polish Workers' Party] to the PPS [Polish Socialist Party], political thought died in the state guiding structure. This is most readily attributable to the prevailing "cult of the individual." But then why was there no rebirth with the events of 1956 or with the later tremors, despite periodic floods of political journalism?

Before attempting a clarification of the foregoing, I shall establish the distinction between those two conceptions. As I see it, they are separated according to a difference in wavelength. Political thought functions according to a principle of long waves. It is motivated, formed and presented in the distant perspective of great national or class goals, or both, as the case may be. While current dilemmas and disputes are obviously subject matter for political thought, serve to illustrate it and, to a certain extent, act as a precondition for it, the essence of political thought consists in surpassing the reality of the moment, both with regard to time and context. Political journalism, even when it is deeply tinged ideologically, is the domain of short waves. It concerns itself with current and urgent decisions whose implications are limited to a span of a few years only, and that comes about in a concrete and immediate context. According to the Kantian definition, political thought concentrates on what ought to be; on the other hand, political journalism concentrates on what is, and on what might be ultimately. (Obviously, by the term "political journalism" in this context, we are thinking of matter and not form).

Why then, with the exception of a few peripheral examples, did political thought vanish at the end of the 1940's, and not yet reappear?

The foundation and determinant of every modern form of political thought is a specific ideology. I need this truism in order to formulate the following.

Despite numerous examples of pragmatism, even of a extreme sort, in the direction of the state, the power that directs the state cannot be accused of having divorced itself from ideology. Isolated examples or even entire periods of applying pragmatism--whether practically only, or according to stated purpose--do not alter the fact that in the workers' movement, ideology always has a higher position and greater influence upon the formulation of policy than in contemporary bourgeois structures, although even among them the end of the age of ideology proclaimed by R. Aron has not arrived. We must not, however, confuse ideology with political thought.

Ideology worthy of the name creates a certain consistent, internally logical system of values and viewpoints about the desired form and activity of various human groups. Like a living organism, an ideology tends toward homeostasis, that is, internal stability. However, Von Bertalanff, the founder of bioenergetics, made the piercing observation that "no true stability and hence no system of interaction can be thought of as performing any kind of work. For work to be performed, there must be some kind of gradient, that is, a system must be thrown out of balance to some degree.\* In the world of physics, the hydroelectric power plant furnishes an illustration. The reservoir is in a state of equilibrium, performing no work until a gradient is introduced--a disturbing agent in the form of a new mass of water rising, which causes the water in the reservoir to move the turbine. In our case, ideology is the collector; political thought does the work, deriving from ideology the directions of developmental dynamics and the optimal visions of a given collectivity determined by a concrete historical, social, economic, cultural and systemic situation. The gradient is provided by the competing views with regard to that program, for they oblige us to fit the abstract principles of ideology into the national realities of institutions, directions of development and the workings of public life. By its very nature, the unification of the two parties eliminated competitiveness from the heart of the workers' movement. Further, other programs, such as those of Christian inspiration, were considered so marginal politically and doubtful ideologically that they were treated as nonexistent and could not play the role of a gradient.

Briefly, a stimulus for struggle was lacking. Such a stimulus is indispensable for undertaking the effort to formulate political thought. Hence, political thought degenerated into programs arrived at without discussion, which were merely an extrapolation of the state of affairs already reached or else a mere negation of recently corrected "errors and distortions." Two other circumstances contributed to this way of acting. For one thing, there was a chronic shortage of imagination and political courage, with the result that the systemic solutions that were decided upon were accepted as not only optimal but also exceptional. Visions of programs for the development of socialism that must, after all, involve worries and perplexities, recalled the deliberations of urban planners of the end of the 19th century who were concerned that the projected increase in the number of horse-drawn vehicles

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\*Quoted from L. von Bertalanff, "Problemy zycia" [Problems of Life], LITERATURA NA SWIECIE, Nos 3-4, 1982.

over a 5-year period would enormously complicate the problem of cleaning up horse manure. Second, there was a tendency to minimize failures, treating them as isolated cases, easily overcome, confirming the conviction of potential creators of political thought that the philosophical stone had already been found and that it was necessary only to take care of it. When doubts arose about the certainty of that, pressing current business told us to put them off for the indefinite future.

Thus we reach the key question posed by our editors: Is political thought (or rather, its rebirth) possible in our reality? In spite of experience, I am answering in the affirmative. More precisely--yes, but under certain conditions.

Every great political crisis has three phases: a convulsive quickening and contestation, a numbness, and finally, a reawakening and reflection. Today we are in the second phase, but the third will unavoidably come, unless we accept the premise of a total failure of the instinct of self-determination, which would be a rare thing in human history. The depth and diverse character of the crisis can lengthen greatly the present phase, causing Poland and the Poles great harm, which would be hellishly difficult to undo. The same qualities of the crisis, however, that at present cause collective frustration, a feeling of helplessness and a lack of perspective, furnish a rare opportunity. For no previous crisis has so shaken the dogmas of "real socialism" none has awakened such critical reflection, none has so dramatically posed the question: What next? After 1956, 1970 and 1980, we had only political journalism. Now, for the first time, we are offered the concrete possibility of the rebirth of Polish political thought.

Let us take note, however, that the shock of the crisis provides a powerful, but by nature short-lived releaser of intellectual energy. Political thought, like its environment, the political culture of society, must be systematically cultivated. Toward that end we need a wider vision of socialism as an open system with diverse forms of national structures and a variety of developmental directions. The hypothesis of variability alone will ensure the regular functioning of the needed gradient in the form of bringing the various currents of socialist political thought into contact with each other.

The past shows not only the possibility, but also the necessity of such an evolution. The beginning stages of a socio-system structure are marked by a monolithic, rigoristic acceptance of a doctrinal foundation and an implementation characterized by monotypical conceptions regarding forms. In time however, the complex of conditions, changing circumstances and the material and spiritual progress of society not only lead to de facto variations, but also bring the need to establish numerous and often conflicting models of the vision of sociopolitical order. All of these models, however, betrayed a conscious or instinctive consideration for the basic ideological first principles proper to a given structure, if they were a product of the ruling-class world. This statement needs no documentation here, as every textbook of political doctrine makes it.



The question about the "here and now" arises: Is the situation in Poland ripe for such an evolution, and do we have, or can we obtain the suitable sociopolitical equipment for it? Intellectually, we are already prepared and await the call.

The political struggle for 1980-1981 cost us dearly and will cost us still more, especially on the sociopsychical plane, but it has also produced certain gains. For the first time, the boundary between socialist and nonsocialist or antisocialist political thought was clearly drawn on a grand scale, in an experiential and not an abstract way, homegrown and not according to some international mode. Owing to the same cause, the frontiers of socialist thought also expanded. That is only a seeming paradox. In periods when there were not enough real enemies, the need (real or imagined) for political struggle led to the creation of ideological entities that were supposedly a threat to socialism--all kinds of deviations and "isms." Now that a real and numerous enemy has appeared on the scene, it has necessitated a much more realistic (I avoid the ambivalent word liberal) definition of criteria for determining whether or not a position or viewpoint is socialist. Today no one condemns on a doctrinal basis (although he may criticize from other motives) the idea of self-governing and independent trade unions, or the principle of coalition, or in another area inspired by Christianity, the notion of socialist commitment. True danger exorcised apparent dangers only. These latter have transformed themselves, or rather, can transform themselves into beings who are beneficial for socialism, and they can come to be known, after a fashion, as autonomous currents of socialism.

This opportunity is threatened as usual by the temptation to "think about that tomorrow," for today we must concentrate on jointly overcoming the crisis using monolithic and exclusive means. According to that way of thinking, the discussion of conceptual variants for the distant future would be not only an inappropriate luxury at this time, but would also lead to intellectual and political turmoil.

I consider that viewpoint doubly erroneous and even harmful. First, the only way to lead our society out of its lethargy is to demolish the wall before its eyes, revealing the horizon, getting rid of that hopelessness about nothing being worth it, about everything being impossible to accomplish and the even more dramatic notion that on the collective level there is nothing to live for. A wise political thought of varied stripe can become a pickaxe, tearing down that wall bit by bit. Second, there is not necessarily any opposition between the notion of concentrating the efforts of all socialist adherents in Poland (and let us not pretend that all Poles belong to the "party of progress") on jointly overcoming the crisis and on the notion of a diversity in viewpoint about aims among socialists. Let us recall that the Bolshevik Party originally formulated two programs, a minimum program and a maximum program. The first constituted an invitation for cooperation to related, but not identical political forces. What prevents us from reviving this formula? The various participants in a coalition system, or even more broadly, in PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebith] can, indeed, must have a common minimum program delineating fundamentals, drafted by the leading power, that asserts their will to overcome the crisis and their competence



with regard to the crisis. Beyond that they formulate their own particular maximum programs affirming their conformity with the fundamentals and goals of the Socialist system. With regard to the maximum programs, why, for example, could the PZPR not rally around one or another system of agricultural cooperatives, while the ZSL /United Peasant Party/ supported one or another variant of a means to strengthen the private farm concept? Both tendencies fit into the socialist system; neither is excluded by the constitutional provision about the permanence of existing types of agricultural property. Why could socialist-minded Catholics not fight for a full-scale concept of a wider world view in socialism, while Marxists support the vision of an atheistic society? Let history, and not a priori doctrine, judge between them. It is precisely around these and other basic goals that the various currents of Polish political thought can develop.

There is just one more basic condition. Earlier I mentioned that political culture nurtures political thought. Recently I treated that subject at length.\* I repeat one of my opinions only: one cannot imagine true political culture in the absence of organic bonds between society and the state. In the absence of political culture, there is no political thought. Although there is a certain amount of feedback here--political thought nurtures political culture, and the latter strengthens the bonds between society and the government--it is a secondary reaction. A suitable climate produced by the state of relations in the state is needed both by creators of political thought in order to give it shape and by those who are the recipients of political thought in order that they may perceive it properly. This may be a bad state of affairs, calling for the correction that political thought is supposed to provide, but it must contain within itself the rational prerequisites for positive development. By analogy with Antaeus, political thought surpasses the reality, but it draws an indispensable stimulus from it. Like nature, the political mind abhors a vacuum.

#### Toeplitz Commentary

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 41, 27 Nov 82 p 3

/Commentary by Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz: "The Source of National Adventure"

/Text/ We turned to several people with the question: What kind of political thought is possible in our circumstances? Thus far Professors Jan Szczepanski and Janusz Stefanowicz (POLITYKA 39) have responded to our survey. In this issue, Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz speaks on the subject.

I believe that the very concept of "political thought" and, therefore, of a comprehensive viewpoint regarding social relations and, especially, legal and state questions, underwent a serious deformation in our tradition. Among

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\*"Feniks kultury politycznej Polakow" /The Phoenix of Polish Political Culture/, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 30-31 October 1982.

modern, Polish political doctrines--19th and 20th century doctrines may be included here--the question about the character of society, the state and the law was continually muted by the other question: How are we to regain our independence? The moment of regaining independence, which ought to have been, therefore, the logical moment for just beginning in earnest to deal with the complex of problems of society, state and law, was instead a final moment for many Polish political doctrines. Practically speaking, political thought did not reach beyond that moment. In 1918, this became clear with regard to 19th century doctrines about independence, as euphoria over regained statehood was accompanied by a peculiar sensation of frustration overcoming part of Polish society, a frustration qualified by some as "joy over a regained waste-basket" and by others as an "exchange of policemen," trading one in a foreign uniform for one in our own.

In the interwar period there was characteristically a rather clear separation between the areas of operation of political thought of the Right and Left in our society. The Right, both of Pilsudski's reform movement and the National Democratic Party, tried to erect structures of Polish statehood and Polish international policy, while rather grudgingly articulating social programs. On the other hand, the Left, although enthusiastic about solving social problems, exhibited either helplessness or lack of more active concern about affairs of state and its external policy. That can be seen in the political thought of the PPS /Polish Socialist Party/, that great workers' party that was known for its great weakness in the area of international politics, essentially repeating the opinions and reflexes of the politicians of the government camp (for example, about the matter of relations with the USSR) with whom they were in conflict on internal matters.

The period after World War II placed before the Polish Left the necessity of working out a comprehensive doctrine embracing both social aims and statehood problems, especially regarding the stabilization of Poland's position in the light of the arrangements made by the international powers. Even today the most creative response seems to have been the "Wieslaw line," that is, the policy formulated and implemented by the PPR /Polish Workers' Party/ between 1944 and 1948. There arose the practical question regarding the primary aims of Polish policy and Polish social and national interests in light of the real conditions in the contemporary world. I consider the emergence of that question to be the inception of all real political thought.

Without making any assessment of the various answers to that question over the past 37 years (and some of them were tragic, mistaken and of disastrous historical consequence, as we know) I dare state that at the present time, Polish political thought, desiring to remain both Polish and realistic as well as future-oriented, ought to agree on three primary ideas:

1. accept the notion of our country as a medium-sized, European country, in the operational zone of the world socialist system, and benefit from that fact;
2. stabilize and strengthen the position of Poland in the framework of contemporary Europe in such a way as to favor the preservation and historical development of the national and cultural identity;

3. stress an advance in Polish civilization on a level of the developed countries of the last quarter of the 20th century, and lay the groundwork for a profitable start to the 21st century.

As I see it, these three aims ought to guide all Polish political activity and ought to be a yardstick for judging the rightness or wrongness both of practical solutions as well as doctrines prevailing in our society.

I shall attempt a brief, closer look at these three main assumptions.

Many authors agree that in the political conduct of Poles, especially in the area of political emotions, there survive unassimilated echoes of the imperial situation of the prepartition republic. These echoes make themselves heard either in slogans of a "great power" or "Poland from sea to sea" and the like (favored in the interwar period), or in the equally anachronistic form of messianism by which Poland is the Christ among nations, the conscience of Europe, the bulwark of Christianity or something else equally monumental in the spiritual realm. These unassimilated imperial echoes minimize the real opportunities and real possibilities of Poland as a medium-sized European state lying in a crucial geographical position, which offers opportunities for significant benefits. In a definite manner, they render it more difficult for us to undergo the psychic transformation such as those experienced by Holland, for example, when it ceased to be a colonial power, such as those that Great Britain is experiencing right now, for the same reason as Holland, and such as those that seem to torment the psyche of the two Germanies as well, although in a more highly complex fashion.

Poland's geographical position in Europe can be seen as disastrous in line with two premises: the probability that the European continent will be the site of armed conflicts and the theoretical possibility that Poland herself will seek some kind of territorial expansion. In the first case, our country becomes inevitably one of the principal European polygons; in the second, it cannot but be defeated in any confrontation with any one of our more powerful neighbors. If we accept another premise, however, namely, that Europe will be evolving in the direction of permanent peace and cooperation, then our geographical position becomes a privileged one, making of Poland a natural link between East and West Europe, and enabling her to draw definite economic and technical advantages from her neighbors. Restructuring internal attitudes of Poles in line with economic progress, a development mentality, trade and cooperation becomes, therefore, a prerequisite for taking advantage of the broad opportunities that result from geopolitics.

Realistically speaking, Poland can take advantage of this opportunity only on the condition that it belong to the socialist camp. In any other configuration, the eastern boundary of Poland becomes the site of continual confrontation and unrest, while at the same time, it opens up a zone of uncertainty around the western boundary. At present the latter is secured by the might of a world superpower acting not only in our interest but also because that boundary is advantageous for the entire socialist camp.

Seen in that light, the strength and stability of the Polish state is important. Our ideological allies as well as other European states must see in the Polish state a guarantor of the stability of the existing accord for the land between the Bug and the Odra. Any instability in Polish statehood or loss of ability to act and to fulfill both political and economic obligations must work at once to the detriment of Poland's position both in the camp of its allies (for which we had examples in 1980-1981 when the slack in the Polish economy caused problems in the whole CEMA system) and among our political opponents who are so eager "to play the Polish card."

The participation of Poland in the socialist bloc ought to be implemented in harmony with the Poles' feeling of national and cultural identity rooted very deeply in Latin culture and in participation in the historical processes of Europe as a whole. Polish political conflicts of the 1950's arose mainly from the negation of that obvious reality by 1950's policies, and if and when a similar deviation were to occur in the future, similar conflicts would arise. That is why I repeat that the second principal aim of Polish policy must be the constant intention of initiating and strengthening peaceful cooperation between East and West, for only then can Poland feel secure and sure about the continuity of the threads of culture and civilization that are essential for the development of the national identity. Any kind of politics of confrontation--whether on the international level, or on a domestic one--spells disaster for Poland.

Finally, I believe that the third prerequisite for a realistic Polish political thought is the element of civilization. Already more than once, Polish society has manifested its acute longing for the blessings of modern civilization. The absence of them has given rise to conflicts and explosions; there is no real reason, given favorable circumstances, why Polish society could not enjoy the honestly-earned status of a country about midway up the list in terms of wealth in modern European civilization. It is in that light that we ought to regard the whole complex of problems in socialist changes in Poland. In spite of various sorts of breakdowns and obvious mistakes, these changes have played and continue to play the role of a factor hastening the development of civilization at three times: during the period of immediate postwar reconstruction, during the period of the broad dissemination of the fundamental blessings of civilization such as universal education, a system of health care, the availability of culture and the social advancement of the underprivileged, and during the period of Poland's saturation with modern technology which, although poorly utilized, contains our future potential.

At the same time, one cannot help but notice the many factors that in practice deprive Poland of the status of a developed country under conditions of 20th century civilization and place it in the group of developing countries or underdeveloped countries. Our place within the group of developed countries is neither self-evident nor threatened as it was in the past; the level of our start in the next century is not prejudged. At one time, the previously mentioned messianic trend counteracted the civilizing trend quite successfully, preferring abstractly understood imponderables to the real achievements of civilization. This has caused constant mood swings; the fantastic daydreams about a "second Japan" are accompanied by the slogan "barefoot but wearing

spurs," but the spurs are not always there, even if the shortage of shoes is a fact. Dogmatic thinking, for which the implementation of an abstract social model is often more important than tangible results in the area of production, trade and consumption, more important than the test of the individual quality of the life of society members, frequently stands in the way of the civilizing trend. Thus I believe that the measure of how civilized we are is a fundamental axiom of realistic Polish political thought.

The concept of "realistic politics" and "realistic political thought" is coupled in our tradition with a subconscious tone of resignation, with one's being reconciled to the drabness dictated by circumstances. Meanwhile, at the present historical moment, such realistic political thought--envisaging the restructuring of social mentality, of our notions of the state and our place in the world--can become a source of a fascinating and qualitatively new historical adventure of the Polish nation. Never before under conditions of independent Polish statehood has such thought assumed a primary position. Often it was difficult for it to summon up its own lofty voice without being drowned out by the great power of messianic outcries, or by the loud voice of more radical ideologies. But perhaps the dramas of the present moment will motivate it anew.

#### Wiatr Commentary

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 42, 4 Dec 82 p 5

/Commentary by Prof Dr Habilitatus Jerzy J. Wiatr, director of the Institute of Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism: "Bold, Progressive, Realistic"/

/Text/ One could maintain that the question posed by the POLITYKA editorial staff--"Is political thought possible?"--is merely rhetorical. Political thought exists in Poland both in the form of the program documents of the party, the fronts and political organizations, and in the form of the books and articles of the various political writers like Edmund Osmanczyk, Jan Szczepanski, Andrzej Micewski and the late Konstanty Grzybowski, Julian Hochfeld and Beoleslaw Piasecki.

Political thought also exists in the form of illegal publications or in works published abroad by authors living in Poland. Finally, in practical Polish thought, one must also include emigre Polish political thought, in those cases where it attempts to examine problems under discussion from the point of view of the situation in Poland and not from the point of view of colonies of Poles abroad.

This list alone shows that the general term "Polish political thought" covers very diverse phenomena. That is natural and unavoidable. By its very nature, political thought is a "discourse," a contention about questions that divide society, an attempt to impose a definite direction on practical politics, and that is just what gives rise to its diversity.

Diversity in political thought, moreover, has two distinctly different causes. The first is the continuing ideological and political struggle. In the sphere

of political thought, it is always a question of the same contention about the *raison d'être* of People's Poland, about the fundamental direction of its foreign and systemic policies. During the years of our present crisis, disputes about these matters have become more acute, owing in part to Western ideological and propaganda centers. There is, however, a second cause for the diversity of political thought in People's Poland. It is the search for paths of Polish political development on socialist ground, for a community of socialist states, for continuity of achievement in People's Poland. For that reason, the question "Is political thought possible?" ought to be recast as "What kind of political thought does Poland need today?"

Putting the matter thus, I am taking for granted a positive answer to the question: "Does Poland need political thought?" And I do mean "political thought" here, and not propaganda concerned with preordained solutions. Political thought is the search in the theoretical sphere for roads that should be followed in practice. A positive answer to the question derives from the current situation in Poland and in the world. In that situation, alongside basic elements of continuity, there are inevitable elements of change. Inside our country the need for changes, for reforms grows out of the fact that for one, Polish society has changed and, for another, some previously acceptable solutions have been called into question by life, thus requiring changes. In the world situation, the necessity for change stems from technological development, the course of the revolutionary and national liberation process and, finally, from the growing ecological threat. In all of these matters, we must have our own position. We must seek Polish solutions for the problems the world faces. That is just what supports the need for political thought.

That thought must be bold, above all. Many who speak to political questions will never see a sentence about themselves in future works on the history of Polish political thought, because they are so afraid to say anything contentious, controversial or provoking opposition. Political thought that limits itself to duplicating only what is already noncontroversial changes into propaganda or popularization. Although political thought is not a science (as opposed to political theory or the science of politics), it has this in common with science, that its task is to pose new questions or find new answers to old questions.

The timidity of our political thought--or to be exact, of a large part of it--flows from two sources. The first source is the tradition of commission work for the propaganda requirements of the government authorities. For many years, political practice worked effectively to scare off independent, controversial presentations of political problems. "The propaganda of success" left very little room for reflection free from the qualities of apologetics. Although a few authors broke out of that mold, it is characteristic that it was in London that Professor Jan Szczepanski published his very interesting ideas about the extrapolitical factors of national power. The pressure of official practice and of the propaganda it was founded on was so great that it seriously limited and impoverished political thought of a socialist character. That pressure also accounts for the flight to scholarship. More than one pedigreed political thinker hid behind a Chair at a university, interspersing his own political reflections among verses in books or scholarly articles.



There is another cause of timidity--fear of public opinion. For stating unpopular things, many people who write about political matters have experienced disapproval from those around them, especially recently. Konstanty Grzybowski's authority derives from the fact that this great product of the Krakow school was not afraid of telling Polish society unpopular truths to its face. Life repaid him with more bitterness than splendors.

It is worth a serious effort to determine if, after throwing off the palace restraints of a propaganda of success, Polish political thought has attained the courage necessary for saying unpopular but necessary things in the circumstances of the deep crisis and stormy political changes of 1980-1982. We must draw conclusions from that experience.

Political thought must be not only bold, but progressive. I understand the progressiveness of political thought to be its constant capacity to reassess the tried and tested patterns of thinking and acting when the reality requires this. This is a dictate that is definitely in line with the spirit and essence of Marxism-Leninism, but is ignored by so many Marxists. Political thought that is committed to building the road to socialism in Poland may not assume the permanence of the adopted solutions: it must constantly analyze whether these solutions continue to be successful or whether life imposes the necessity of changes. We are standing in the face of the reforms of political institutions, just as we faced the necessity of carrying out economic reform. The discussions of this subject have created a favorable impression on me, especially those that took place at the convention of the Polish Political Science Society in Lodz from 18-20 November 1982. I am convinced that a strong current of progressive, reform political thought is developing in our country, that is founded firmly on socialism and draws its inspiration from Marxist-Leninist theory, and in the spirit of this theory desires to help change (and not merely explain) the world. We must very expressly warn against everything that can create an obstacle to this direction of development. Apologetics and conservatism in political thought are ills with which we are already familiar and whose social cost is too high for us to ignore this threat.

Political thought must also be realistic. Realism in Poland has always had to wage a mental battle with "wishful thinking," with the conviction that if one really wants to do something, he will do it. Will is a very important factor of effective political action, but will without thought to guide it easily degenerates into chasing rainbows. Poland must have an accurate, realistic picture of the world that surrounds it, as well as of its own strengths and possibilities. Those who try to draw up programs for Poland that are carried over from other epochs or other geographical locations act without realism. The lack of realism is likewise the failure of those who wish to build Polish political thought of the end of the 20th century upon the ideas of the most noble utopias that are not borne out in daily living.

Realism is not synonymous with resignation. As a result of Poland's tragic history of the past two centuries, there has been a struggle to identify romantic idealism with the grandeur and positivistic realism with the prose of life, with resignation. Realism is the courage to implement all of the



desired goals that can be implemented given the existing situation. The fainthearted belittling of goals out of fear of difficulties is foreign to realism, as is the lightheaded waste of energies on the impossible. What can uncover the limits of our real possibilities if not political thought?

There is yet another characteristic of political thought worthy of note. The sort of political thought that we need should lead to the development of a national political culture by providing a good example of discussion, controversy and argumentation. We fall short in this regard. In our political life, a difference of positions too often degenerates into personal attacks, slander and witchhunts. All political directions here are guilty of this. Political thought developing in a climate of discussion and polemic ought to be a good example that it is possible to hold differing views in a mutually acceptable, constructive manner. We need this very much, particularly today, when we want to build understanding, among people who think differently, in the name of the most important issues common to socialist Poland.

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## ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY ARMOR, MOTOR VEHICLE INSTITUTE DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 44, 31 Oct 82 p 9

[Article by Wojciech Wilczek: "In the Automotive Service"]

[Text] In the vast garages of the Military Institute of Armor and Automobile Technology [WITPiS] we examine various types of tanks and armored personnel carriers [APC] with which the Polish Army is equipped. There are vehicles of the technical services, evacuation-repair vehicles and mobile repair and maintenance workshops. All the wealth of modern automotive technology which is essential to a modern army.

All this gives an idea of how broad and varied the interests of scientists from the WITPiS are. This institution, which was created in November 1947, conducts scientific research and experimental design work related to the usefulness of armor and automobile equipment used in the army, determines the directions of its further development and modernization, and designs new models of vehicles. In a time of rapid technological development, it is necessary to follow closely the directions of technological progress and to modernize designs so that they answer the needs of the modern battlefield.

The enormously important problems of durability and reliability of vehicles, methods of maintaining them, and organizing the safety of combat technical activities are also objects of the interest of military specialists. This concept includes both technical service and also organizing field repair or evacuating the damaged equipment from the battlefield.

In its 35 years of activity the Institute has specialized in, among other things, designing armored and cross-country vehicles, as well as vehicles for emergency repair crews and mobile workshops. It has developed research for wheeled and tracked vehicles, and in particular, research into the durability of spatial designs, vibrations, accelerations, noise, the microclimate of hermetically-sealed vehicles, and the method of protecting metal surfaces against corrosion without coating agents. The list of patents and militarily useful designs turned out by this honored institution is long and vast.

Characteristically, scientific problems are solved here in close connection with practice. The directions of the scientific-research work arise from the concrete needs of the armed forces. However, military scientists also try to be useful to the national automotive industry. For years they have willingly cooperated with civilian institutions and producers of vehicles. Much of their work has been used to improve the quality of Polish cars and trucks, and even of some agricultural machines.

A few years ago I saw for the first time the truck "Star-266", so popular today, on the track of the Institute. Research in many areas was being carried out here, resulting in many design improvements. Today the contribution of military specialists to developing and setting in motion the mass production of this vehicle, which has been praised not only in Poland, but also abroad, is highly valued.

Not everyone knows that the popular grain harvester-combine "Bizon" also has "rubbed elbows" with the Institute's laboratories. Research into the tensometric durability of its design was conducted here, and led to the improvement of that durability.

Owners of Fiat-125p and Fiat-126p cars probably do not even know that the friction materials from which the brake linings are produced also come from WITPiS laboratories. The fruit of many years of research, the purpose of which was to develop new friction materials, they have produced excellent results. The disk brake linings of the Fiat-125p, developed by military specialists, turned out to be better than imported ones produced by the Textar company. On a special apparatus for research into complete brake linkings, both drum and disk, the linings of the Polish-produced autos Star-244 and Star-266, as well as foreign Gaz's and UAZs, have been tested. Recently, specialists of the Central Institute for Research into the Development of the Railroads, in Poznan, turned to the WITPiS for help in developing friction material for disk brakes of the so-called rapid railroad, which is supposed to reach a speed of 200 km per hour.

The WITPiS has also contributed to improving the quality of Polish tires for the large and small Fiats, among other things. Dynamic complex research on tires has been conducted with the use of a mobile laboratory LR-1 and the only centrifugal apparatus in Poland for dynamic research into tires, springs and shock-absorbers for passenger and cross-country passenger vehicles.

An area where military specialists boast of many achievements is the protection of equipment from corrosion. Means and methods of conserving metal products without coating agents by using the inhibitors W-68 and Inchrol, as well as means for cleaning and conserving electrical contacts, were developed in their laboratories. Motorists praise the aerosol preparations called "Elektrosol" and "Elektrosol R-2", which are commercially available.

Military scientists devote much attention to improving the working conditions of drivers, and riding comfort in combat vehicles. The hydraulic power steering system for tanks, which has been put into production, has significantly facilitated steering the combat vehicles with less physical effort. The microclimate inside APCs, in which soldiers must often cover great distances has also been improved.

The army owes to the Institute, among other things, the modernization of the T-54 tank, the arming of the T-55A tank with a large caliber machine gun, and the adaptation of tanks for under-water crossing of deep water obstacles, as well as the modernization of the "SKOT" APCs, which significantly improved their combat qualities.

It is impossible to name all the contributions of this military scientific-research institution, which is prized and widely known not only in Poland. In 35 years of fruitful activity it has served the Armed Forces well, and has made an important contribution to the development of automotive technology in our country.

9970

CSO: 2600/138

POLISH MEDIA RUN SPECIAL ITEMS FROM 'NOVOSTI'

Soviet Nuclear Policy

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 257, 11 Nov 82 p 6

[Article by Sviatoslav Kozlov: "How Would a Halt on Nuclear Testing Affect the World"; "Specially prepared for RZECZPOSPOLITA by NOVOSTI News Agency"]

[Text] The Soviet Union revealed a new initiative, having as its objective a halt to the nuclear arms race and the deliverance of mankind from the threat of nuclear war. During deliberations at the 38th Session of the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union proposed an immediate halt and a ban on all nuclear arms tests.

Such tests conducted by nations possessing nuclear arms are a confirmation of a tendency to perfect existing types, create new types and systems and gain qualitative superiority in the area of these arms over others possessing them. The tendency to counteract this disastrous course, or keep up with it, pushes other nuclear powers onto the path of a further nuclear arms race.

If nations lacking nuclear arms at a given moment conduct such tests, then that might indicate their intention of exclusively possessing their own capabilities of nuclear destruction. By the same token, therefore, the meaning of understanding is lost in the matter of nonproliferation of nuclear arms which has been in force since 1979.

At present a legally binding force is being observed, as well as the understanding of 1963, referred to as Soviet, banning nuclear arms testing in the atmosphere of outer space and under water. As is seen, this document which played an important role as one of the first barriers against the race for nuclear arms, did not adopt a universal character--it did not prevent the conducting of underground tests.

It happened that way, contrary to the insistent efforts of the Soviet Union which demanded the expansion of the ban in all centers. However, other nuclear powers that did not desire to resign from the race interfered in this. The USSR supported a policy to assure even a partial limitation excluding, in spite of everything, the most dangerous of consequences to people from open nuclear explosions.

Simultaneously, the USSR did not abandon efforts aimed at attaining a total ban on all nuclear tests. On its initiative, discussions were undertaken with the U.S., and subsequently trilateral negotiations with the participation of Great Britain, for the purpose of achieving that objective.

This resulted in the concluding of two important understandings with the U.S. in 1974, in the matter of limiting underground testing of nuclear arms not exceeding 150 megatons; as well as the understanding of 1976 in the matter of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes. Both documents partially resolving the problem would also be favorable to the development of the main objective. However, the U.S., despite signing them has not yet ratified said documents.

The apparent similarity in points of view at the time of the trilateral conferences, likewise was not brought to a finish; recently the U.S., pursuing a unilateral course, refused to participate. This kind of negative position clearly demonstrated that the U.S., by conducting a broadly conceived program "of overarming America," above all in the nuclear field, desires to free itself from any restrictive obligations whatsoever.

As an external reason "justifying" such a nonconstructive position it served --as was the case also in other similar circumstances--the problem of control. As for the Soviet Union, unacceptable demands were consciously advanced, in order to provide next the accusation of imaginary "inflexibility," instead of a mutual search for agreements generally possible of acceptance.

In actuality, the problem of control on the basis of equality, which does not infringe upon the safety of any of the sides, always met with appropriate understanding on the part of the USSR.

This is clearly apparent from all three negotiations and agreements which had been already successfully concluded, where the problem of control was not an unsurmountable obstacle. The international convention banning bacteriological weapons, SALT I, SALT II and other agreements, likewise belong to the category of such agreements beyond those mentioned above.

In the "basic arguments for agreement on a total and universal ban on nuclear arms testing" presently proposed by the Soviet Union, the problem of control gained further positive development. This document deals with all these positives attained during the course of many years from discussions on the problem of banning tests completely. It likewise represents the reflection of the opinions of many nations, among other things also, on matters concerning control over the observance of a future agreement. The document anticipates a most favorable union of national and international steps to exclude the possibility of uncontrolled violations of agreements.

For the purpose of creating more favorable conditions for the preparation of this document, the USSR proposed to all nuclear powers the introduction of a moratorium on all nuclear explosions during the period of negotiations,

including those conducted for peaceful purposes, beginning with a date to be agreed upon by them. The moratorium would be binding until a treaty as such has been concluded.

Considering the fact that agreements introduced earlier on this subject led to the possibility of a speedy solution, the USSR proposed a specific manner of expediting the preparation and signing of a treaty advocating a total and universal ban on nuclear arms tests, moving discussions on this subject in the Committee on Disarmament onto a practical base.

The Soviet Union proposed the inclusion of this problem as important and urgent in the present session of the UN General Assembly's order of the day, as well as its withdrawal in a decisive and vigorous manner from the blind alley in which it found itself, because of the ill will of opponents to nuclear disarmament.

Thus, the first perceptible results of a negotiable treaty proposed by the Soviet Union depend on the facts that the nuclear arms race will end on a quality aspect, and the proliferation of these weapons will become subject to actual limitation. Humanity will rid itself not only of potential danger resulting from the race, but likewise of the direct threat which in one way or another create experimental explosions, regarding which there is no certainty as to whether they will provoke disastrous consequences, to say nothing yet of the vast savings in resources.

And, what might be most important--an important step will be made in the direction of strengthening international trust; an expression of good will will take place in the work of averting a nuclear catastrophe, and the atmosphere of the current disarmament talks will improve.

#### Continuation of Soviet Policies

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 259, 13-14 Nov 82 pp 1, 7

[Article by PAP: "NOVOSTI Press Commentary"; "Soviet Policy Unchanged"]

[Text] Moscow. The NOVOSTI press agency provided a special commentary for PAP by Spartak Beglov, in which we read:

Citizens of the Soviet Union pay their last respects to Leonid Brezhnev, a man who in the highest positions of the party and nation provided an outstanding contribution to the implementation of the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet Union.

With regard to the aspects of activities in the arena of international policy, Brezhnev himself appraised these activities as follows:

"I am fortunate, that within the ranks of the party which nurtured and tempered me, I can participate in the struggle for great objectives--lasting peace and unfailing safety for nations; for objectives toward which all of



mankind is striving." He spoke of his decision and the decision of his co-workers to spare no effort in "fulfilling the mandate for peace" issued by the party and the entire Soviet nation.

What will Soviet foreign policy be like after Brezhnev? It is possible that somewhere beyond the borders of the USSR such a question is placed with a sense of apprehension as to some "turns" and "surprises."

For us Soviet people there is no talk of treating the issue in this manner.

Our life experience became united as one with the 65 year history of the new social system. Our memory is a reflection of this experience of 2-3 generations of USSR citizens and has not recorded even one "zigzag", nor one "unexpected turn" in our line concerning international issues.

What is it that assures Soviet foreign policy such equilibrium and stability? The answer to this question should be sought in the essence of the system and in the specific characteristics of the process of undertaking political decisions. The essence of the system has permanently excluded interested groups or classes by war. The political process is the programming of national life and activities of the state on the basis of congressional resolutions of the governing Communist Party.

On the other hand these resolutions in turn, like a relay race stick passed from one assembly to another, convey the general foreign policy assumptions of the socialist revolution that prevailed in 1917.

These assumptions were expressed in the following words of the leader of that revolution and creator of the Soviet state, Vladimir Lenin:

"An end to wars, peace among nations, putting an end to plunder and force--this is our ideal." This is precisely how the assumption sounded 64 years ago which the last 26th assembly of the CPSU formulated as follows:

"The defense of peace--there is no more important task on the international plane for our party, our nation and also for all nations on the face of the earth."

The same is expressed with equal clarity and preciseness in the reply of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as by other administrative organisms of the country to the party and nation in conjunction with the death of Leonid Brezhnev:

"The will of the Soviet people to preserve peace is constant. Not the preparation for war which commits nations to the absurd waste of material and spiritual wealth, but the strengthening of peace is the signpost for tomorrow."

Continuity and the consistent character of Soviet foreign policy is a big plus, an enormous good for the rest of the world. In circumstances when the

foreign policy line of some leading powers, and particularly the main capitalist country--the U.S. undergoes constant "crises," "revisions" and shake-ups--the constant platform of USSR foreign policy plays the role of an important factor stabilizing international relations in the present unusually complex situation abounding in danger.

This chiefly concerns the key issue--the elimination of the nuclear threat which hangs over mankind. There is no greater menace to the entire international society nor greater madness than standing for "eventual," "permissible" and "victorious" nuclear war.

Whereas in certain U.S. circles, the temptation to shift the policy onto the path of preparation for nuclear war certainly began to clearly dominate. This is certainly the source of universal uneasiness in the world.

The Soviet Union in its policy rejected and continues to reject with complete resoluteness all eventual arguments and grounds for the possibility of nuclear war. There has always existed, does exist and will exist only one possibility for Soviet policy--the struggle to avert nuclear war.

The reply of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Cabinet to the party and nation stresses that "relying upon its capabilities and demonstrating the highest vigilance and restraint, observing immutable loyalty to the peaceful principles and objectives of its foreign policy, the Soviet Union will perseveringly strive for the protection of humanity from the menace of nuclear war, and for detente and disarmament. In this struggle we are joined by brother socialist states, champions of national and social liberation, of peace-loving countries on all continents, of all sincere people in the world. The policy of peace expresses the fundamental, vital interests of mankind, and for this reason the future rests in this policy." This all means that the "mandate for peace" rests in reliable hands.

9951

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ELBLAG GOVERNOR URLINSKI INTERVIEWED

Warsaw CHLOPSKA DROGA in Polish 21 Nov 82 pp 1, 5

[Interview by Ryszard Nowicki with Elblag Governor Col Dr Ryszard Urlinski:  
"Do Specific, Rather Than 'General' Work"]

[Text] Elblag governor Col Dr Ryszard Urlinski frequently takes what is known as field trips but, aside from these, every month he travels to particular gminas with a specific purpose--to let the citizens come and talk to him. On his instructions, the three Elblag deputy governors do likewise, although the doors of their offices are open to applicants every Wednesday.

[Question] Are these special trips really needed? What are they to serve?

[Answer] We started only in September to visit the gminas with the purpose of serving the citizenry. Consequently, our experience is still limited. I can say, however, that our trips are profoundly justified. They are not at all numerous considering that there are 43 administrative units in the Elblag province. Each may be visited by me or a deputy governor once a year.

You asked why we opted for this form of service to the citizens. I will list our main reasons. First, a specially arranged trip of this kind is a great opportunity to observe life in its daily flow. Every Wednesday when applicants are received in the Governor's Office we have many citizens from the voivodship. It is not easy to explain why. I believe that a lack of confidence in local authorities, frequently unfounded, plays no mean a role here, along with the belief that the voivodship authorities can settle most matters, if not all. The point is, therefore, to restore confidence in gmina level authority and to convince people that gmina chiefs can accomplish a lot as well.

Another goal we have in view is to establish unmediated contacts with citizenry. Such contacts are a source of information on the life of voivodship population. Finally, the third issue is to shorten the path between citizen and authority, recognizing that there are matters that exceed gmina chief's mandate. It is worth remembering, too, that not all people can afford to travel to the Governor's Office on Wednesday.

[Question] Comrade governor, you have said that gmina trips are profoundly justified. Please substantiate this statement.

[Answer] This is not only my own opinion. The deputy governors also think that we hit the bull's eye, as the saying goes. I must add that initially there was no uniform opinion on that subject. I heard claims that governors should not go and get lost in detail but should think and conceptualize. I am of the same opinion, but I thought that conceptualization should have a frame of reference in the realities of life, so that they do not diverge from them.

I must add that the signals we have been receiving from Elblag voivodship residents are another confirmation that our gmina outings are seen as useful. This is not surprising, considering that a number of needed decisions have been made in the field.

[Question] Permit me to ask if gmina chiefs and officials concur in these affirmative opinions?

[Answer] I believe I have succeeded in eliminating the distance that could separate me from gmina chiefs. When I assumed the governorship, there were no expressions of contentment because of my assigning tasks at monthly meetings and, once scheduled deadlines passed, I held people accountable for their performance. That was early on, however. Soon, it turned out that gmina chiefs visited the governor's office with decreasing frequency. After all, a gmina chief is not someone to be called in for minor reasons at all times. We have mutually clarified and adopted the following principle: If you do not know--ask; if you do know, make a decision. Thanks to this, my visits in the field are not seen as extraordinary events. My presence at a field location should simply be exploited by gmina chief to accomplish their tasks, which is what they are trying to do. Second, it is generally known that governor or deputy governor visits to serve gmina citizens are not additional surprise checks. We made 3-month schedules, and gmina officials know about visits a month in advance, while gmina residents are informed by posted announcements.

[Question] How do the meetings proceed?

[Answer] The governor is accompanied by a legal counsel. The latter proved to be needed not only when decisions are made. Many issues brought up by the citizens result from their ignorance of the regulations.

I visited the gminas of Stegna and Lelkowo. People had waited to be received even before the appointed time. In theory, receiving periods should be 4 hours but they are usually longer, lasting until all applicants are dealt with. Decisions are either made on the spot, or deadlines are set and cases are initiated to be processed. This is the first stage during a governor's visit at a gmina. The second is a meeting with a people's council presidium. Council members then present proposals which--as the meetings have shown--generally pertain to socioeconomic plans being prepared. In this

case, no issues must remain unclarified. Finally, the third stage is a meeting with a gmina chief who takes over some of the cases and receives instructions on how to operate.

[Question] On the basis of gmina visits up until now, can you identify cases most frequently raised by applicants? Or, were they all so untypical that no systematization can be attempted?

[Answer] During each meeting we (I am referring to deputy governors' experiences as well) have handled from 10 to 15 cases submitted by citizens, on occasion, by groups or representatives of social organizations or institutions. For the most part, these are issues concerning land utilization, roads across croplands, land reclamation--in brief, farming concerns. There are frequent and, regrettably, difficult to fulfill requests for apartment allocations from state employees.

[Question] Could you offer a purely personal reflection on gmina trips?

[Answer] I am pleased by the fact that there exists a trend to engage in farming, to enlarge farms and to develop their production. My impression from several cases is that there is no lack of emotions in settling matters of this sort, and that majority opinion is not always right. Specifically, I am referring to opinions on land sales issued by self-government bodies. We accommodate those opinions, to be sure, in the belief that self-government bodies are best informed about local problems. However, when an offer to buy land comes from an outsider, not a resident of a particular village, then everything possible is done not to settle the issue. This is perhaps a separate, extensive subject concerning customary rural morality as well.

My most significant and lasting impression is that my visits and those of the deputy governors are simply to give shape to government policy on location in the field. After all, we manage to convince average citizens and council members, e.g., we discuss with them about procurement, investments, legal regulations and similar subjects. In my opinion, this is not a bad way of transmitting information from the top down and winning farmer support for our work, as I mentioned at the beginning of our conversation.

[Question] I note that this form of service to the citizenry reflects a desire to streamline the functioning of state administration.

[Answer] More precisely, it is an element of improvement of the administration's performance. As I have mentioned, applicants are received at the Governor's Office every Wednesday. On the same day citizens are received by gmina chiefs. This is of practical importance. On Wednesdays, gmina chiefs can consult with the Governor's Office by telephone, and I can talk to applicants with complete certainty that additional information can be immediately obtained, if necessary, from gmina chiefs.

Another issue is that there are those who support the view that applicants should always have access to gmina chiefs. I believe that "always" in practice means "never." Besides, a gmina chief who is "always accessible" to

all, cannot function in an orderly fashion. I agree that in certain cases it is not enough for gmina chiefs to have set 1 day a week for contact with applicants. We have gminas in which an extra day has been designated. Remember, also, that administration offices in the Elblag voivodship are always open to the citizens; their departments, sections and officials continue their work. It is essential that we try to handle each case on specified deadlines. Since I became governor, I have often heard the line: Sure, we will take care of that matter, but I always ask: By what date? I represent the view that it is not enough to work in general, it is necessary to work concretely, within specified time limits. Inconsistency and failure to set completion deadlines for individual cases frequently provoke negative opinions on the administration despite the dedication and effort of administration officials.

[Question] As an army officer, you like military orderliness, comrade governor.

[Answer] In my military career I have always been a commander, I always had to guide people. Although the army and the administration are different fields, they have many common elements. In the army, we refer to commanding, in the administration, it is management, but in essence it is the same thing--guiding people, which is the fundamental factor deciding about performance of human groups. We have not found an ideal formula for it in the Elblag area, but the process of streamlining the functioning of the administration requires time. With no false modesty I can say I feel satisfied about our increasingly frequent success in settling problems of various kinds and in increasingly efficient administration to benefit society.

8795

CSO: 2600/192

POSSIBLE CONFLICTS BETWEEN PRON, OFFICIAL ORGANS DISCUSSED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 14 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Dr Jerzy Wojciak, chairman of the Provisional Voivodship Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] in Bydgoszcz]

[Text] [Question] It is said in the local milieus that the Bydgoszcz Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is different from other movements which operate in the country, in that it takes care of not only small but also of big matters for particular milieus, and that it, first of all, performs control and advisory functions. What does this mean?

[Answer] Representatives of various institutions and organizations which decide about living conditions and the functioning of the society take part in the activities of the Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. At successive conferences they acquaint themselves with concrete cases which demand solutions, and together with us they work out concepts of how to take care of them and present them to proper authorities. For the entire time they attempt to control the actions of the responsible institutions. Results of their actions are submitted to the members of the Council.

[Question] Excuse me, but this does not sound convincing.

[Answer] I will find an example. At this moment we are taking some action to reclaim apartments after institutions occupying too large dwelling spaces. This matter was earlier attended to by members of one of Bydgoszcz's Citizen's Committee for National Rebirth, but they met with difficulties on the part of the interested institutions. The problem was then reported at one of the conferences of the Presidium of our Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth and the matter was then taken up by representatives of state administration who belonged to it. All this points out that soon the inhabitants of Bydgoszcz will receive additional apartments.

[Question] And what role do ad hoc teams set up recently at your council play?

[Answer] We created them to investigate certain situations and to draw certain conclusions indispensable for resolving conflict situations occurring in our voivodship on a macro scale.



[Question] What situations do you have in mind?

[Answer] They concern the conflict between city and country, youth problems, family, private trade and service, health service and social care, education and culture.

[Question] What will the practical activity of such a team consist of?

[Answer] I will answer this question by an example of a team for youth affairs. For a long time we have been noticing various signs of a mounting intergenerational conflict. We do not want to pretend that this problem does not exist. This is why together with representatives of youth organizations, combatant organizations and teachers, we want to search for the source of conflict. Members of the team will organize meetings with older people and with the youth of different milieus. In the course of free exchange of views conclusions will be presented at a successive meeting of the Council. We will attempt to work out together our plans for resolving of noticeable conflicts. Remaining teams will work on similar principles.

[Question] At this point one can accuse you of duplicating the activity of these organs which were specifically called for to fulfill control, evaluative and research functions.

[Answer] We do not agree with this accusation. We will not be solving problems, and conflicts but we will be pointing to their sources and inspiring a concrete way of their resolution by institutions called for specifically for that purpose.

[Question] Frequently just inspiration is not enough. A competent institution may be of a different opinion and in accordance with a right which it has, it will resolve a given matter according to its own judgment. What will you do then?

[Answer] This is a rather serious problem. Our movement, except that it stands for social interest, does not have another *raison d'être* vis-a-vis the authorities. Nevertheless, this is a rather important argument. That is because those authorities which do not want to hear our opinion, that is public opinion, are the authorities destined to be detached from masses. We must strive that the conclusions which are reported by PRON are competent. This will build up our authority. The authorities will then come to the conclusion that it is worth while to have such a partner.

In spite of this optimism, I believe that it is necessary to work out quickly an obligatory legislative act of a set of laws and obligations for our movement and its members. This will allow us to avoid many misunderstandings between PRON and the state administrative organs.

[Question] Is it not so, however, that in this sort of formalization of a social movement which is alive today, there is hidden a danger of PRON repeating mistakes made by the National Unity Front?

[Answer] Such a danger undoubtedly exists. We may avoid it by constantly monitoring the social character of our movement, contradicting its bureaucracy and by treating all its members as partners. In turn, members must constantly control the leaders of the movement. They should react to all departures from the principles of the program. I believe, however, that such situations do not exist.

[Question] How can you be so sure?

[Answer] This is because our movement grows out of aspirations to reform, from the wish to oppose the mess accumulated over the years and the indifference and insensitivity to human matters. The members of the movement are only those who do not desire any profits or privileges. The only satisfaction for them is to be able to act unselfishly for the benefit of others.

[Question] Very often PRON is accused of not being representative of the whole milieu, that its leadership are people originating from chosen social circles. Do you share this accusation?

[Answer] Yes, but only to a degree. In fact, at this moment, the PRON does not represent the entire Bydgoszcz society. This is due to its short time of activity, lack of permanency in the existing structures and also to milieus not trusting us. Granting our movement a permanent legal-systemic foundation will change its situation. We realize that we cannot be a congregation of long-term social activists only. What we are concerned about is to draw young and new people in.

[Question] It will not be easy to gain [influence over] new milieus.

[Answer] This is true. Today we can convince people only by means of new concrete achievements, through constant persuasion, through presentation of a program and character of the movement, pointing out the goals, which must and should be achieved in cooperation with each other. We already have certain results. In many Bydgoszcz establishments the wall of distrust begins to crumble slowly.

[Question] You mentioned here a distrust of the society of PRON. Is it tied to the continuously small number of members?

[Answer] I do not believe it proper to tie the position of the social movement to the number of its members. In my opinion, the problem is completely different. But let us take it in order. So, first of all, any mass activity delimits the effectiveness of the undertaken tasks, it facilitates the influx of accidental people in whose only desire is to be on the membership list of yet another organization. Secondly, PRON's idea is to have numerous throngs of sympathizers.

[Question] How is one to understand it?

[Answer] For example: a citizen comes to us with a concrete matter that troubles his milieu. We do not ask him where he comes from. It is unimportant whether he is or is not a party member, whether he belongs to the trade union or whether he attends church. What is important is that he wants to resolve the given matter in the social interest and that is to contribute to the breaking up of barriers which divide this milieu. In this way he becomes almost automatically a sympathizer of our movement. And we are especially interested in such sympathizers. We will attempt not to deceive their trust.

9971

CSO: 2600/162

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PZPR CADRE POLICY

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 21, 8 Dec 82 pp 3, 4

[Article by Tadeusz Dziekan, brigadier general and director of cadre department of PZPR Central Committee]

[Text] Cadre policy is one of the key problems for our party. On correct cadre policy depends the effectiveness of the leading role of the party in our society and, as a result, all progress in socialist construction. Cadre policy is a function of every ruling party: thus, it represents one of the important attributes of power. For our Marxist-Leninist party, which is implementing class goals, it has a dimension which is much wider than merely an instrumental one.

First: Selection of managerial cadres often is of crucial importance for the implementation of the party's social and economic program. Second: In our society's opinion, the managerial cadre and its ability, moral attitude and effectiveness of action are often identified with the party itself and with its role and function. Therefore, the party must exert special care in the selection of proper cadres, because the party's authority and our society's confidence in its policy and goals depend on the work and attitude of these cadres. Third: The party's cadre policy is an important element of socialist democracy. Indeed, the cadre policy of a workers' party is, as Lenin said, "The recruitment of the clear majority of the working masses for the types of work in which they can prove themselves, develop their abilities, and reveal their talents..."

Thus we as a party have the obligation to see to it that our cadre policy serves the utilization of intellectual potential and that it is open to people who are endowed with organizational talent and with ability to lead groups and collectives of other people.

It is a well-known truth that the development of economy and the development of the material base of our society are determined mostly by organization of work, by effective utilization of the production potential, and by proper utilization of human strength and ability. And that depends on individuals, on organizers and administrators--on the managerial cadre. It is not a

coincidence that our public opinion sees many of the causes of our present social and economic crisis in the errors of cadre policy during the previous decade. It is not a coincidence, either, that a large portion of the discussion before the PZPR Ninth Congress was devoted to problems of this policy. Our society, including party members, regarded and continues to regard a precise and clear formulation of its principles and directions and, consequently, their consistent implementation, as one of the important factors in overcoming our [present] social, political, and economic crisis.

#### Errors of Previous Years

Beginning with the PZPR Ninth Congress, our party's echelons initiated consistent efforts which were aimed at overcoming failures and correcting errors which had occurred in the area of cadre policy. A great many of these errors had accumulated during the 1970's. We must notice them and we must be determined to eliminate them from everyday practice.

The errors of previous years consisted not so much in an improper formulation of the principles of cadre policy as in their insufficient observance in the making of personnel decisions. One of the causes of violations of the principles of cadre policy during the 1970's, as well as of erroneous personnel decisions, was a lack of an evaluation system of managerial cadres which would provide for a confrontation of evaluations and opinions with reality.

In the work of party echelons and apparat there was a dominant tendency to regard cadre policy as a right to make individual decisions about personnel. Meanwhile, it was indispensable to have a comprehensive analysis of the cadre activity of the management of state and economic organs. This state of things was also favored by the excessively developed and improperly applied principle of party-rank appointments to positions that required approval by consecutive party echelons. In many areas of our social and economic life a practice was developed which resulted in narrowing the field of cadre selection to close-knit and well-defined groups. Persons of ability and worth were often left outside of the interest circle, which produced in them a sense of injustice and reduced the social effectiveness of the cadre policy.

The cadre policy of the past decade has been accused of having been "a policy of negative selection." Such an assessment, like any generalizing assessment, is certainly unfair and even damaging. It was intensified by a campaign consisting of all kinds of innuendos and demagogic attacks which affected honest and involved people. The political adversary took advantage of an atmosphere of social dissatisfaction in order to undermine confidence in the entire cadre--honest and self-sacrificing people who performed their duties well. It would be altogether unjust for us not to notice their achievements and to notice only negative aspects of the past. Indeed, during the past years many social and political activists grew up, who were appointed to positions of responsibility and passed their test with flying colors.

A resolution of the [PZPR] Ninth Special Congress charged the Central Committee to draw appropriate conclusions from the assessment of the entire cadre policy which had been made at the highest-level party assembly, and recommended formulation of new principles of party work with cadres at all management levels. At the same time, it was stated unequivocally that bad previous practices, but especially the bureaucratic and formal criterion of party-rank appointments, should be discarded once and for all. The resolution of the Ninth Congress pointed to the need to expand the social base of cadre selection and to gradually increase the participation, in the government of our country, of allied political parties and of non-party people from all the milieus.

#### In Conformity with the Resolution of the Ninth Congress

Implementing the resolutions of the Congress, we worked for a number of months on the document pertaining to "Main Objectives of PZPR Cadre Policy." The work on it was being done by a specially appointed group in the Cadre Department of PZPR Central Committee, consisting of practitioners and theoreticians who deal every day with cadre problems; this group included, among others, specialists from the Polish Academy of Sciences and from the Higher School of Social Sciences attached to the PZPR Central Committee. The group made wide use of observations and proposals which were received as a result of having consulted the party aktiv of all the voivodship committees and the 207 plants under the control of the Central Committee. The [subsequently] prepared document is to provide a basis for a uniform system of cadre policy which will make possible a radical improvement in the operation of this policy.

This document will consist of the principles of cadre policy in state and economic administration, namely: the law concerning state employees, recently approved by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic; the principles of creation of a cadre reserve and of work with it; the principles of improving managerial cadres, and the principles of a periodic evaluation and annual review of cadres. In intraparty work, the documents concerning the practical implementation of cadre policy will be: the rights and duties of regular party workers; the creation and utilization of a cadre reserve in the party apparatus; the system of improving periodic evaluation and annual review of the work of cadre party workers. One of the component parts of the "Main Objectives of PZPR Cadre Policy" is--now in the final stage of its preparation--"Procedures to be Followed by Party Echelons in Appointing Managerial Cadres," together with a preliminary list of positions that require political cadre decisions of party echelons.

Thus, we want to bestow on cadre policy a rank worthy of it not only in theory but in the entirety of the actions of the party and of the state. This policy must be directed along the path of simple, Leninist principles. Our doing so is of primary importance, both for social and economic and for ideological and moral reasons. That is also why we will demand that those responsible for it exert meticulous care and use the correct criteria in the selection of managerial cadres.

During the preparation of the document we realized that a cadre policy could produce expected results only if we applied uniform and generally understood criteria of selection and evaluation of managerial cadres at all management levels. In the draft of the principles we strongly emphasize the decisive role of human attitudes, knowledge, experience, and ability to make decisions which conform to the needs and interests of our country, of the socialist Polish state.

The practical implementation of these objectives will depend, to a large extent, on proper cadre policy. This policy, based on impartiality and on an approach which is free of prejudices or preconceived notions, should be subordinated to the objective needs of the state, and at the same time it should give proper consideration to demands made on an individual and to his reasonable and justified aspirations. In a socialist enterprise and institution there is no room for parochialism, private gain-seeking, or favoritism.

### Basic Principles

A cadre policy will produce expected results only if it is uniformly applied at all management levels, without any exception. The methods and procedures of the implementation of cadre policy in different regions of our country and different areas of national economy must be adapted to precisely defined needs and conditions. At the same time, the forms and methods of this policy must be compatible with generally operative central guidelines.

The need for uniform cadre action is closely linked to the principle of democratic centralism; we most strongly emphasize the importance of this principle because its essential attribute is collectivity, which should be viewed as a systemic and political factor. In our opinion, collective management prevents such phenomena as infringement of the principles of self-governing democracy, careerism, attempts to form bureaucratic-technocratic groups, or seizure of power by individuals, as well as other practices that hamper or distort the development of a socialist self-government. We pay particular attention to collectivity in the making of cadre decisions, while emphasizing the need to develop a competitive procedure of selection of managerial cadres and consultation about candidates for managerial positions with the milieus from which the candidates come.

While shaping a cadre policy the party must not lose sight of the imperative of the class spirit. The state, representing the interests of well-defined social classes, has seen and will see to it that managerial positions are filled by people who identify with the political goals of the class which exerts authority in our state, and who represent and implement the ideology of the working class. The class principle of cadre policy in our system calls for filling managerial positions with capable workers, good organizers and genuine leaders, who are respected and trusted in the milieus in which they live and work.

The principle of socialist legality deserves particular emphasis in implementing cadre policy. Indeed, respect for the law and observance of



regulations which safeguard an employee's wellbeing is the basis for the formation of socialist principles of coexistence.

The interests of employees, and of our whole society, as expressed in legal standards, can be protected only when the binding laws are strictly observed both by party organs and the party's social echelons and by all the citizens.

In party activity, too, the principle of making cadre decisions public must be observed. This requires informing our society not only about changes in high government positions but also about changes at lower levels of management.

#### A Higher Post Calls for Greater Responsibility

In the selection of cadres and in working with them, we will require consistent application in practice of established criteria which imply that people performing managerial functions should distinguish themselves by their dedication to and involvement in the cause of socialism, their professional preparation and organizational abilities, their ethical and moral attitude, and their profound sense of responsibility for the social and political effects of their actions.

I should also like to emphasize that in the making of decisions about appointments to managerial positions the attention of all the decision-making echelons should be directed not only to the formal traits of demands made of the management cadre but also to capabilities for efficient management as expressed by the high effectiveness of the utilization of means which are at the disposal of a manager and by his ability to create socialist relationships in the work process.

Formal treatment of tasks and avoidance of responsibility for difficult and complex problems are irreconcilable with party membership and with performance of managerial functions in the state, economic, or social apparatus. While trusting the management cadre, party echelons should require of it initiative, independence, and effective action, as well as ability to create and strengthen socialist interhuman relationships.

An essential task will be a systematic evaluation of the work and attitude of managerial cadres and--in conformity with the requirements of party cadre policy--adherence to the principle that "the higher is the post, the greater is the responsibility."

#### High Standards

On the basis of high ideological and professional standards, in conformity with the spirit of the Ninth [Party] Congress, party echelons were put under an obligation to propose not only members of the party and of the allied parties, but also nonparty people for managerial posts of responsibility. This requires continuous improvement in the evaluation of cadres and of methods of creating cadre reserves, and consistent implementation of a uniform system of cadre policy as an important instrument of the leading role of the party.

We believe that bolder attempts should be made to appoint young, ambitious, dynamic and responsible people, with proper professional and political preparation, to managerial positions. This is socially justified, all the more so that over 300,000 persons in ages of up to 29 years have higher education credentials, and over 2 million persons have secondary education credentials. This enormous potential has not been sufficiently utilized up to this time, because a great many of these people either perform work which does not correspond to their qualifications or have no opportunity to fully utilize the knowledge which they acquired.

A systematic expansion of the field of cadre selection requires continuous creation of a cadre reserve as well as operative control of its development and improvement. A cadre reserve should represent a pool of candidates for managerial positions which would assure an influx of young and able people. The selection and improvement of future managerial cadres represents the most crucial area of cadre activity, which should be the responsibility of managers at all the levels of management. That is why we emphasize the need for a cadre reserve, and for a continuous review of the latter's composition. A cadre reserve can be an open group and can undergo numerical changes, and new people can be added to it or its present members can be excluded from it, after each cadre review and each periodic evaluation. We also believe that an essential condition for the proper functioning of a cadre reserve is the establishment of the principle of its open formation. We assume that it will represent an important element of healthy competition which will give candidates an incentive to achieve good results in their work and to improve their qualifications.

We will devote much attention to continuous improvement of cadres. This should result not only in the improvement of qualifications but also in the improvement in organization of the work of managerial cadres, which will be reflected in a more effective implementation of tasks, particularly under the conditions of an economic reform. The current goal of all the forms of improvement should help cadres to understand this reform fully and to implement it effectively. Programs of cadre improvement courses should be based both on the needs of the reform with regard to individual branches of our economy and on the needs of the cadres which are responsible for this reform at definite levels of leadership and management.

One of the more difficult and more controversial tasks of cadre policy, as I have already mentioned, is cadre rotation, particularly in those areas of activity which are of basic importance for progress and effectiveness. We believe that the problem of rotation must become a permanent element of the system of selection and promotion, an element which is related to the process of positive selection and development of cadres. Rotation should be regarded as a natural means of shifting of cadres which permits to utilize them in the best way possible.

#### Cadre Review Should be a Continuous Practice

I should like to draw attention to some aspects of the work of the managerial cadre in state and economic administration, in which we still

encounter shortcomings. To eliminate these shortcomings as soon as possible is in the best interests of both the party and our society. The current economic, social and political problems have made the work of the managerial cadre an object of particular attention on the part of our public opinion. Our society, which is vitally interested in improving its living conditions, wants persons performing managerial functions to effectively supervise the production of material goods, to demonstrate competence and effective management, and to act honestly, in conformity with the principles of social justice. Our public opinion demands of employees of the state administration total involvement and responsibility in resolving the problems of our citizens, e.g., it demands of teachers conscientious fulfillment of their instructional and educational obligations.

In February 1981, decisions were made with regard to a general review of cadres in ministries and central offices, in education and science as well as in the press. This review included the entire cadre--from rank-and-file employees to ministers inclusive. The next review included employees at the voivodship level, in local enterprises and institutions. The general review of cadres was based on the usefulness of individual employees, formulation of personnel recommendations, and definition of tasks aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the organization and functioning of state and economic administration at all levels of management and in all other departments. These reviews have been made a permanent part of the practice of cadre actions. After 13 December 1981, the actions of the authorities in cadre matters were aimed at exacting from managerial cadres a kind of work which was efficient and effective and which had an unmistakably clear political significance. Persons who did not meet these requirements had to resign from their positions.

In managerial positions at the central level 440 persons were replaced, including vice premiers, ministers, governors, vice governors, and chief editors in the press, radio, and television. Drastic changes occurred also in the apparatus of local administration, where over 200 mayors and heads of basic-level offices were replaced. In addition, over 650 directors of larger production plants were dismissed from their posts. Many persons had to leave because of their passivity, lack of involvement in their work, inefficient management, indifference toward people and their problems, and reproachable ethical and moral attitude, as well as abuse of power.

At the same time I wish to emphasize that a clear majority of party-recommended managers at different levels in the state and economic apparatus are people with high professional and social qualification, who enjoy the confidence of the work forces. These people represent a firm base for continuation of proper cadre policy.

#### Role of Party Apparatus

The main objectives of cadre policy have emphasized the great importance of proper selection of regular party employees. The party apparatus, working under the supervision of elective echelons, has a very essential role to perform, and for this reason it should consist of the best party activists

who are dedicated to the party's cause. This is a condition for improving the quality of party work.

In the most recent period, profound changes have occurred in the composition of the party apparat. As an example, we can mention that over 250 cadre changes took place in the apparat of the Central Committee after the Ninth Party Congress. Of local employees, 5,300 political workers have been replaced in the period from September 1980 to the present time. After the imposition of martial law, the need arose to dismiss, from among the regular local cadre of the party, 750 persons whose political attitudes were unstable or whose involvement in party activity was insignificant. The majority of those had been accepted for employment in the apparat after August 1980.

The basic task of the party apparat must be to educate people politically, and to inspire them and to win them, through personal examples, for the implementation of the party's program. Employees of the party apparat must constantly expand their ideological knowledge, the latter being indispensable for carrying on, among others, an effective struggle against political adversaries and hostile internal and external diversionary activities. This requires a continuity of self-education, continuous improvement and expansion of political argumentation and of its effectiveness and credibility and constant development of agitation and propaganda forms of action.

There has been a significant increase in the role of basic party organizations [POP] in cadre selection. These organizations, in accordance with objectives, have to take the initiative in the matter of evaluation of cadre policy in enterprises and institutions in which they operate; they can demand that measures be taken in order to eliminate shortcomings and distractions which occur in this area. An important task for party echelons will be to react quickly to actions of individual managers which violate established ideological, professional, and moral criteria.

#### Decisions and Their Social Evaluation

In the past, more or less perfect regulations and principles of cadre policy were available to our party; however, there was a lack of persistence and consistence as well as basic criteria in their implementation. Therefore, to assure executive discipline and permanent control in such an essential area as cadre policy, in our objectives we have accepted the principle of annual review of the correctness of implementation of regulations at all levels of management. For this reason also, consistent implementation of the objectives of cadre policy imposes particular responsibility on party echelons and organizations.

We should remember constantly that our society is watching closely all personnel decisions and confronts them with its own evaluations. For the credibility of party cadre policy it is essential that this juxtaposition of decisions and their social evaluations should result favorably for those who made cadre decisions. Taking into account our society's reaction to decisions being made is an effective means of elimination of all distortions and errors in our cadre policy, such as used to occur in the past.

The main objectives of cadre policy pertain to vital problems of society in our country. This is, in our party's history, the first document which gives such a comprehensive presentation of problems which are related both to the creation of conditions for all-around development of an individual and to the most effective utilization of the potential of ideological and moral values and of the knowledge and abilities of all the working people.

These objectives, after a preliminary approval at the Tenth Plenum of PZPR Central Committee, represent the tentative scope of practical activity. They will be systematically reviewed and supplemented in the course of the current activity of the party. They will also provide a basis for preparing a cohesive system of cadre actions. The importance as well as the wide scope of problems of cadre policy is the reason why we have decided to examine them at one of the forthcoming plenums of the Central Committee.

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